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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

League's Forty-fourth Conference at Baltimore, Dec. 1st, 2nd and 3rd

Publicizing of government will be among new problems considered as Maryland city prepares to be host for the third time; questions before earlier conferences in '90's recalled.

For the third time in the history of the National Municipal League, the annual National Conference on Government will be held in Baltimore. The dates of this, the forty-fourth conference, are December 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. Headquarters will be at the Lord Baltimore Hotel.

Baltimore—the "most northern of southern cities, most southern of northern cities, most western of eastern cities," etc., as one of the slogans of the charming and historically important metropolis is at times phrased—was host to the conferences of 1896 and 1914.

The first meeting to be held in Baltimore followed the organization meeting of 1893 in Philadelphia and the National Conferences on Good Government, as they were known then, in Minneapolis (1894) and Cleveland (1895). In that first Baltimore meeting the three foremost subjects under discussion were civil service reform as a prerequisite to municipal reform, whether good charters or good men were more important to good government, and whether there was greater need for municipal reform in the north or in the south.

Even though Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks came out of the cloistered halls of Cornell University to advocate a new idea called "proportional representation" as early as the conference of 1894 in Minneapolis, the discussions of the early conferences tended to concern themselves chiefly with such questions as the improvement of methods of granting public service franchises and the respective merits of unicameral and bicameral legislative bodies for cities.

It was at the Minneapolis conference that first mention of the desirability of having a model city charter, which in more recent years has become the League's most important contribution to the improvement of municipal government, was found in a paper, "Elements of a Model Charter," by Professor Edmund J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania. After first protesting the impossibility of creating such a document, Professor James provided a discussion which for that day was daring enough, and which led to the following general provisions he would include in it:

"The greatest possible degree of autonomy or self-government; the especial differentiation between executive and legislative functions; the vesting of supreme executive authority in one person, elected by popular vote for not too short a term and independent in his appointments of the legislative department; the acceptance of a permanent, properly educated civil service under the supervision of heads of departments appointed by the chief executive; and the general constitution of the legislative department upon the principles of geographical distribution and minority representation."

The National Municipal League has travelled far with its conferences on government since those early meetings when the organization was made up chiefly of local civic groups instead of individuals as at present; and it would be impossible to measure the number and far-reaching effect of the ideas which have come from the discussions.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Henry Bentley, Useful Citizen

HENRY BENTLEY, member of the council of the National Municipal League, trustee of the national Proportional Representation League, and moving spirit of the famous Cincinnati City Charter Committee, died last month in Cincinnati. He was fifty-eight years old.

An ordinary man leaves a fast diminishing gap within a limited circle of family and friends. But Henry Bentley's absence can only become more exaggerated in a world which needs ever more desperately the wisdom he could give it. It is the grimmest tragedy of all that such men must leave us when they have learned so much that the world generally does not know.

A successful lawyer who was active in social service work, Mr. Bentley first became interested in reform of Cincinnati government when in 1924 the city threatened to evict patients in the municipal tuberculosis hospital because of lack of funds. After a week of intense activity, consisting of speeches, interviews, and publicity, Mr. Bentley almost single-handedly succeeded in persuading the political boss, "Rud" Hynicka, that a serious uprising of public opinion would result if the tuberculosis hospital was not somehow kept open.

But this proved to be only the beginning of Mr. Bentley's work. He decided that the hospital incident was only a symptom of a more serious municipal situation, became convinced that nothing of lasting value could be accomplished until the entrenched spoils machine was uprooted. The "Birdless Ballot League," object, a nonpartisan ballot, was his first essay in this direction. With Murray Seasongood and others he led this league to victory in its first campaign against a heretofore invincible machine.

Experience soon showed that such a reform alone would be superficial. A permanent citizens group to fight for good government was necessary. Mr. Bentley became the first president of the City Charter Committee, whose underlying philosophy was that real and lasting reform could be achieved only by a combination of citizen militancy and modernization of the structure of government.

The story of Cincinnati is well known. In 1924 it was "the worst governed city." In 1938, after thirteen years of government by a city manager and a council elected by proportional representation, it still boasts of being "the best governed large city in America."

Henry Bentley's place in that remarkable panorama of municipal success is important, but not merely because he helped "turn the rascals out." He was no mere "reformer" in the usual sense. Reformers too frequently are "good" men who achieve their temporary victories, if any, by means of the impractical lubricant of fanaticism, and fanaticism is too personal a fuel long to transport others as well on the road to achievement. Henry Bentley's victory came rather of idealism combined with the salty wisdom of the practical politician. He and his Cincinnati group were among the earliest to recognize that democracy needs practical politics in the sense of sound organization and a high esprit de corps.

Mr. Bentley went the politicians one better. They were organized thoroughly

in wards and precincts. He built an organization which had a man and woman representative on every block in Cincinnati. These people were not paid. They were not looking for political pap. They were citizens sold on the idea that they themselves must participate in the democratic process if it is to work.

In Henry Bentley's own words, "The unique importance of what has been happening in Cincinnati . . . is that a citizen group has proved that a ward and precinct organization can be manned by volunteers, and that the motive of community welfare is more effective than the pressure of jobs and special privileges."

In the practical application of this wisdom, Henry Bentley, in his own quiet but effective way, made a great contribution that deserves wide recognition. Henry Bentley could never have done the job in Cincinnati alone. His organization needed leaders, and Murray Seasongood, Charles P. Taft, and those who followed were a necessary complement to his work. But neither could the active leaders have done it without Bentley and his organization.

The problem of arousing and maintaining citizen interest in honest, efficient, and effective government is the crux of the larger problem of making democracy succeed. In these days of dictatorship on all hands, it is risking nothing to say that democracy can only be preserved if it be both responsive to public opinion and efficient. This is just another way of saying that citizens must understand the fundamental principles of governmental organization, the part that they are to play in the machinery of democracy, and the simple fact that if they lie down on the job there will be somebody else ready to take their places, and selfishly interested in doing so.

Good government came and stayed in Cincinnati because Henry Bentley and his associates stayed with good government.

When Good Partisans Get Together

THE mayor of Milton, Washington, thought it was pretty clever to enter a mule named Boston Curtis in the race for Republican town committeeman. The mayor, a Democrat, was pleased no end when the mule, without offering a platform or making a speech, was elected.

Besides being a first class joke on the mule or the Republicans or someone, this must be an argument for something. Some will interpret it as evidence supporting the desirability of a totalitarian state. Others might cite it as proof that the old shibboleth "party responsibility" is again unmasked as "party irresponsibility," at least so far as local affairs are concerned.

But really, isn't it a prime argument in favor of the short ballot—a ballot short enough to permit the voter to know the candidates and be master of his job without the help of self-serving politicians?

Paging Abe Lincoln

OUT Cambridge way last month they were declaring war on the arts, the sciences, and the professions. On October 18th the city council, at the behest of Councilman Toomey, voted unanimously to "secede" from Harvard University, and instructed the city solicitor to file with the Massachusetts legislature appropriate legislation to compel Harvard to become a separate municipality paying for its own police, fire, health, and other services.

It seems that some of the Harvard

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The "Indiana Plan" in Action

By
CARL R. DORTCH
Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce

Seventeen years of experience under state review of local budgets has led to only slight reduction of expenditures for local governments.

IT HAS been said that any discussion of state control over local taxation is incomplete without mention of the Indiana Plan. If that were true once, it is doubly so now, for under the present procedure of local budget review in Indiana the state has almost exclusive authority over the tax rates and budget levies of every local governmental unit.

When first inaugurated in 1921, the so-called Indiana Plan provided that local units would be free to adopt their own budget levies and tax rates, subject only to review by the state board of tax commissioners upon petition of ten or more taxpayers. In the event of such appeals the tax board was granted power to reduce any requested appropriation, adjust revenue estimates, and order reductions in tax levies and rates. On an average, taxpayers from one hundred taxing units took advantage of this provision of the law.

In recent years, however, the Indiana Plan has been materially modified. Instead of being simply a procedure whereby citizens can appeal to a state board for local tax reduction, the modern Indiana Plan contains an additional step in the review process and, since 1937, has been extended to bring practically all budgets of some sixteen hundred taxing units under the purview of state officials.

The first major change in the Indiana Plan came with the enactment of a tax limitation law passed by the special session of the Indiana legislature in 1932 and amended at the general session in 1933. This new law established a maximum rate of $1.50 per $100 valuation upon taxable property inside corporate limits and $1.00 upon property outside such limits. Provision was made, however, that "if an emergency exists" as to any municipal corporation, the statutory rate might be exceeded. In each of the ninety-two counties of the state the law set up a tax adjustment board to determine what constituted an "emergency" in allowing a rate beyond the tax limits. With power to revise, change, or reduce specific items of any budget under their jurisdiction, these county tax adjustment boards were made the final local appropriating agencies. However, the law retained administrative review by the state board of tax commissioners. Any ten taxpayers were still allowed to appeal—this time from either the action of the local legislative body or the county tax adjustment board.

The unworkability of the tax rate limits and the extent to which the county boards utilized the privilege of defining emergencies are indicated in the dearth of taxing units having aggregate rates in accordance with the statutory limits. In 1931, the year prior to the passage of the first tax limitation law, only forty-nine units out of a total of 1,591 had rates of $1.50 or less. In 1934, after the tax limitation was in effect, only 135 had rates of less than $1.50, and two-thirds of these were rural townships for which the law fixed a limit of $1.00. Mainly because of a large amount of state-collected locally-shared revenue returned to local units, over two hundred units established rates under $1.50 in 1935. In that year, however, but fourteen of the 1,016 townships had a rate of less than $1.00 upon rural property.

Seeking to liberalize the tax limits, the legislature in 1937 enacted a new tax limit law, which contained three signifi-

cant changes in the budget review procedure. First, all local budgets were to be automatically referred to the state tax board for review if the county tax adjustment boards, composed of four citizens and three public officials, failed to set a rate within the new limits—$1.25 outside and $2.00 inside incorporated cities and towns, debt obligations and county welfare services (but not general relief) excepted. Second, in addition to authority to revise and reduce budget appropriations and rates, the tax board was given power to increase any levy and rate, even beyond the statutory maximum, but within the limits as originally fixed by the local legislative bodies. Third, like taxpayers, local units of government were allowed the right of appeal to the state tax board.

As a result of the 1937 act, budgets from 1,577 separate taxing units were placed before the tax commissioners in October 1937. In 1,567 of the cases the budgets were to be reviewed by the state board because they affected a rate beyond the tax limits. Although the budgets were already before the tax board for final disposition, taxpayer appeals were made from twenty-seven units. Local officials in ninety-three taxing districts petitioned for a reconsideration of the county tax adjustment board action. By the end of November the tax board had rendered a final order on all budgets before it for review.

Although the present plan is a more drastic form of state control than the original procedure for review upon taxpayer appeal, the alleged advantages of having such complete autonomy vested in the state tax board are based upon the seventeen years' experience of the Indiana Plan.

What, then, have been the advantages or disadvantages of the Indiana Plan?

The state board of tax commissioners and proponents of the Indiana Plan, among whom are taxpayer groups who distrust their own public officials, have long advocated the Indiana budget review process as a panacea for controlling local expenditures. To support this premise, they place considerable faith and emphasis upon the record of tax levy reductions. Since the introduction of the county boards of tax adjustment, they admit that the reductions made have been lessened materially by the work of the ninety-two county review agencies. Nevertheless, they point to the aggregate of twenty-four million dollars of reductions since 1921 as evidence of commensurable economy brought about in local financial operations.

CLAIMS OF REDUCTIONS NOT SUBSTANTIATED

Analyses of individual cases appealed before the tax commissioners, however, reveal that the state board's recorded figures of tax levy reductions are apparently misleading. In the first place, they do not reflect a corresponding retrenchment in local expenditures. For the most part, the reduced tax levies resulted from revisions of estimates for revenues, receipts, and balances in the budget schedules or were brought about by forcing taxing units to borrow where financing of capital improvements out of current revenues had been planned. The extent to which the record of alleged tax savings is vitiated by the tax board's policy with regard to financing of capital outlay is exemplified by the experience of appeals on the Indianapolis school city budgets. Of the tax levy reductions on a state-wide basis totalling $15,768,352 claimed during the seven-year period, 1923 to 1929, $8,370,196 came as a result of the tax board's action on the Indianapolis school budgets. Sixty per cent of these reductions effected in the Indianapolis school city levies was made upon the basis that bonds be issued for proposed improvement programs rather than a pay-as-you-go plan.

Secondly, even during the eleven

years, 1921 to 1931, when the reductions in tax levies of twenty-one million dollars claimed by the state were more substantial than during any other period, the aggregate amounted to only 1.7 per cent of the total local property tax load. In view of the allowance of authority given the state tax board, the total of actual work done, where cuts in appropriations are concerned, attests to a conservative interpretation being placed by its officials upon those powers. Consequently, the claims of substantial reduction in both local costs and general extravagance appear to be largely unfulfilled. Moreover, the good resulting from the state's correction of budget procedure and scrutiny for local errors and omissions in the computation of receipts and balances seems to be counterbalanced by the questionable policy followed with regard to the financing of capital improvements in the larger Indiana cities.

A basic feature of the procedure under the Indiana Plan is the provision for taxpayer appeal and public hearing. By such the aggrieved taxpayer receives, in theory, an impartial review and consideration of the facts of local finance upon which his petition is based. Unquestionably, the informal public hearing is a valuable asset of the Indiana Plan. Public officials should be ready and able at any time and before any body or group to explain and defend their expenditure plans. Two criticisms, however, arise from the tax board's procedure on the hearings and the decisions rendered. One is that the state's review is not thorough and comprehensive; the other, that the tax commissioners have no established policies upon which to base their orders.

Generally, the hearings on local budgets, which include the quite complicated documents from the larger cities, never last more than two or three hours and in many instances only a few minutes. During this time, the tax commissioners presumably assimilate all the pertinent facts and data concerning the taxpayer appeal and the local official reply with which to render an intelligent decision. The criticism that the tax commissioners' review is thus frequently hastily done and consequently inadequate becomes amplified and justifiably more real with the tremendous burden thrown upon the state tax board by the provisions of the 1937 tax limitation law. With the aid of a staff of only eight field men and secretary, the three tax commissioners in a month and a half held public hearings and reviewed budgets from 1,577 taxing units. It is said that the limitation of time resulted in snap judgment in scores of cases.

NO SETTLED POLICIES

Growing out of the manner in which the tax commissioners proceed in their hearings and in rendering their decisions is the charge that the state tax board has no settled policies—that, in effect, its members make rules to fit particular cases and then reverse themselves in others. There appears to be basis for this criticism. To cite one case, there is the action taken upon the Indianapolis civil city budget in 1937. Reversing an earlier order on this budget the state tax board in November, without a public hearing on the matter, restored $42,096 in salary reductions which had been made by the Marion County Tax Adjustment Board. The tax commissioners justified their action on a premise that neither the county nor the state agencies had any authority to reduce appropriations for salaries. Members of the adjustment board indicated that they had not reduced individual salaries but only the totals for personal services with responsibility of applying the cuts being left to the city council. This was properly done, they indicated, in accordance with earlier instructions from the tax commission. At the same time it was pointed out that the state board had

taken no action on a $6,000 reduction effected by the same adjustment board in the salary appropriation of the Indianapolis sanitary district.

The feeling that the opportunity of taxpayer appeal might encourage local officials to budget honestly and closely is not entirely borne out by experience. Instead, the threat of state intervention has often led to acknowledged budget padding. Moreover, the very nature of state control over each and every item of the budget deprives the official of, or gives him the opportunity to evade, responsibility for his budget.

Another danger inherent in the Indiana system is the unlimited power which the governor's office may assume over local budgets. The three tax commissioners are selected by the governor and may be discharged by him at any time. Thus, there is opportunity for a mayor of a city, for example, to seek the governor's influence when his budget is before the state tax board. Similarly, the state administration may cripple and retard local governmental operations should it so desire.

The best results secured by the Indiana budget review process have been those arising from budget procedures where tax levy reductions were made through the recomputation of estimates on revenues and the utilization of available surpluses. Also in favor of the Indiana Plan, it can be said that by virtue of the state's control no local budgets went unbalanced during the depression. Unlike the experience in some states, schools remained open in Indiana. This argument is offset somewhat, however, by the legislative mandate of 1933 reducing salaries of all local officials.

In the main, state veto power over local budget items in Indiana apparently has not resulted in a substantial decrease in local governmental costs. It has not eliminated the possibilities for extravagance. The largest amount of reductions in local tax levies recorded to the credit of the Indiana Plan has not been a result of reduced budget appropriations. Where actual reduction in expenditure amounts was achieved by the state body, the effect was often later annulled by the enactment of additional appropriations for spending units.

OTHER MEANS OF CONTROL SUGGESTED

Yet, the conditions which gave rise to the Indiana Plan are still extant. Local governmental cost payments display an upward trend. Municipalities are increasing and expanding their services. There is an ever present need for placing checks upon the budgeting of public funds. The continuance of state grants-in-aid to local units necessitates the correct calculations by some central body of the amounts which localities may anticipate in their budgets.

Are there in Indiana organs of supervision and control which, if properly developed, might give the results that should come from a budget review process without containing the disadvantages that arise under the present type of state tax board control?

It has been suggested that two official means of control are now available. One is the county tax adjustment board. In general, it has met with approval and is said to be the best feature of the recent tax limitation laws in Indiana. As a factor of budget control it serves the purpose of bringing into perspective all budgets on a county-wide basis. Its review powers serve as a means of forcing recalcitrant officials to justify and often to balance honestly their budgets. The composition of the membership of the board enables both official and desired citizen participation in the final local fiscal policy determination.

The second agency of control is the state board of accounts. By the power vested in this board every spending unit in Indiana is now required to prepare,

adopt, and execute a comprehensive budget in accordance with prescribed forms and procedures. Although the board does not conduct any administrative surveys, a step has been taken in that direction. Provision was made by 1937 tax law for the employment by the county boards of tax adjustment of field examiners from the state board of accounts for advisory assistance in their review of local budgets. Under the suggested revision of the Indiana budget review process, this service would be expanded by establishing in the state board of accounts a permanent personnel for the purpose of aiding local officials in all stages of budget-making. It would then become a function of the state board of accounts to make investigations, analyses, and reports on local budget problems, but never to settle broad questions of financial policy. Neither would the acceptance of any conclusions given by it be made mandatory upon the local legislative bodies.

The success of such a plan for Indiana would depend largely upon the effectiveness of local home rule in taxation. It would necessitate widespread interest by citizens in the selection of the adjustment board members and in their action as such. This would undoubtedly become a task of local taxpayers' groups. Paradoxically, the Indiana Plan and its record of tax levy reductions have come from local taxpayer organizations which could not arouse sufficient citizen interest to control local public officials. With power now resident in the state tax board to raise levies and rates, however, and pressure for such from local governmental officials a likely corollary, it is possible that taxpayers in Indiana may demand a return of control over local budget levies and tax rates to local units. The county board of tax adjustment appears to be the logical place for such final authority. This is especially true since the state tax board, with its many other duties, has little time with which to exercise effectively its tremendous budget review power—power which might possibly in practice create the Indiana State Board of Tax Commissioners as an agency of tax increase rather than tax reduction.

Manager Cities Judged Best Governed

Several months ago George Arthur of Paramount Pictures went on a hunt for a city of fifty thousand or thereabouts notable for good government "for study in connection with a film, 'The Arkansas Traveler,' which is to be largely concerned with the problems of local government," and which will star Bob Burns and Fay Bainter.

Mr. Arthur asked for suggestions from half a hundred prominent political scientists. When, by a system something like proportional representation, he had tabulated his results, Kalamazoo, Michigan, which has operated under the manager plan for twenty years and which recently gained fame as the only debt-free, pay-as-you-go city over fifty thousand population, was first choice.

The other prospective cities, ALL using the city manager plan, placed in the following order by the political scientists, were:

Winnetka, Illinois; East Cleveland, Ohio; Austin, Texas; Boulder, Colorado; Ashtabula, Ohio; Hamilton, Ohio; Janesville, Wisconsin; Colorado Springs, Colorado; Escanaba, Michigan; Columbus, Georgia; Wichita Falls, Texas; Newport News, Virginia; Kenosha, Wisconsin; Lynchburg, Virginia; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Lubbock, Texas; and Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Cincinnati's Regional Department of Economic Security

Program of organization whose efforts to help solve unemployment difficulties in scientific manner have met with wide interest, described by department's director —

LORIN A. THOMPSON

THE Regional Department of Economic Security is the outgrowth of community-wide interest in the problem of unemployment which had its beginning in 1929. At that time Colonel C. O. Sherrill, city manager, formed a Permanent Committee for the Stabilization of Employment. The committee was composed of civic leaders and public-spirited citizens representing various phases of business, governmental, and social affairs. From 1929 to 1932 the members of this permanent committee devoted themselves to the study of the economic and social consequences of unemployment in the community. During this period there were ten subcommittees at work on the following subjects: fact finding, state-city employment office, continuous employment, publicity and education, public works, state and national coöperation, coöperation with social and welfare agencies, temporary employment, transients, and budgets and finance.

Of importance was a coöperative arrangement effected between the city of Cincinnati and the Board of Education to combine an annual unemployment census with the annual school census. Today Cincinnati has comparable information for ten years consecutively as an outgrowth of this early effort.

The interest and devotion shown by the various citizens in their work emphasized the need for a permanent organization to execute and promote the objectives developed by the citizens committees. As a result of this widespread public interest in the unemployment problem, the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, in 1932 and 1933, prepared a comprehensive plan recommending the creation of a Regional Department of Economic Security and setting forth an outline of organization and method of financing.

After proper negotiation and discussion between the local taxing subdivisions, the State Department of Industrial Relations, and the United States Employment Service, the plan of operation was developed. With the assistance of foundation funds the organization was established in 1934.

The plan called for the opening, eventually, of six coördinate bureaus to deal with employment, research, rehabilitation, work relief, industrial management, and community planning. The first to open was the Employment Bureau, known as the Cincinnati Employment Center, having absorbed the former State-City Employment Office in Cincinnati.

The personnel of the newly organized employment center was provided by the city of Cincinnati, the state of Ohio, the FERA and the NRS. Foundation funds were available for administrative salaries and for the research and planning activities as set up in the original prospectus of the department. The opening of this office in Cincinnati made a significant beginning toward the realization of the objectives which the various subcommittees had discussed and planned in their meetings prior to the organization of the department.

The first major task of the depart-

ment was to improve and expand the State-City Employment Office so as to provide for a community-wide employment exchange serving both employer and employee on all occupational levels. Unemployment was widespread at the time the office opened and as a result of the great interest in the new organization, job seekers on all occupational levels came to register for employment. The pressure on the new organization was tremendous. Jobs were few and those seeking work were many. As a result, the first year was devoted chiefly to developing and improving the methods of registering applicants in a public employment office. One of the innovations was an examining division which developed new aptitude and proficiency tests in a number of occupations. Since it was not possible to include all occupations in this program, efforts were directed to those in which experience had shown that testing was useful as a means of assisting the office in making a proper appraisal of the registrant's competence.

Prior to the depression, the public employment service in this country had never been equipped nor staffed to handle a mass placement problem. Offices over the country were for the most part small and decentralized. The common practice in the larger offices was for interviewers to specialize in certain occupational and industrial fields. The work of the interviewer consisted of registering applicants, contacting business organizations, and placing workers in their own special areas. This method of operation has been on the whole very successful; however, it is not adapted for mass placement. In an effort to adapt the facilities of the Cincinnati center to mass placement, the office was organized on the basis of functional divisions, each division becoming something of a specialist in its own activities. The major divisions were registration, records, and placement. This plan has proved to be one of the outstanding and interesting features of the Cincinnati office.

STUDY OF PROBLEM NECESSARY

As the work of registering and classifying large numbers of unemployed workers progressed, it became increasingly apparent that merely registering people would not find them jobs. Of primary importance then was a knowledge of where the jobs in the community might be, how many of each kind were available, and the length of time these jobs might be expected to last during each calendar year. Consequently, the next major step of the department was to plan, in coöperation with the FERA and later WPA, for a comprehensive census of the county to determine the changes in employment by industrial and occupational groups during the depression. The items included in this regional census were worked out coöperatively by committees representing various public and private agencies.

The analysis of the census material by the research bureau of the Regional Department of Economic Security indicated the trends in employment by industries and also called attention to the classifications of those workers who were unemployed during the year 1935. Thus the community knew not only how many unemployed workers it had, but had a complete catalogue of their former experience and skill. This information was used as a basis for preparing a comprehensive plan of public works to utilize the reserve labor supply. This plan was later discussed with federal officials and a request was submitted for a local planning board to allocate and approve projects for the employment of these workers. The plan was not approved by federal authorities, however, but many of the recommendations were later carried out by the Works Progress Administration.

This comprehensive census of Hamilton County has served as the basis for many additional studies. Since the tabulation of data was comparable in most respects to the federal census material, analysis of the changes in the industrial and occupational distribution of workers during five years of depression were available. As plans were continued for remedying the unemployment problem, it was constantly found that additional factual material was needed. There were so many aspects of community life on which information was hazy. The soundest approach to a solution of these problems therefore was first to gather, tabulate, and interpret the facts. The efforts of the research bureau have been devoted chiefly to problems of this kind.

Simultaneously with the research program, a drive was made by the employment bureau to place more people in jobs through an extensive sales campaign. With the improved organization of the employment bureau, the number of placements increased, and in the years 1936-1937 the bureau placed approximately 25,000 persons each year in jobs of various kinds. This volume of placement, however, does not represent by any means the total labor turnover in the community. It simply indicates that the employment bureau was beginning to reach out and fulfill its original purpose as a community labor exchange.

To develop a completely integrated labor exchange serving all classes of people and all classes of employers, a carefully planned program of education and coöperation is needed. Our experience has shown that the business and industry of the community will not take readily to an elaborate public employment service unless it has a program which devotes itself definitely to the reduction of public expenditures for relief and assistance and also concerns itself with programs calculated to maintain an adequate labor supply in all occupational areas.

In the latter part of 1936 the four-point program was developed as a means of enlisting community support and cooperation for accomplishing the aims of the department.

FOUR-POINT EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

The experience in placement was such that as business improved, there were skilled labor shortages, even though unemployment was still widespread. Going back into the history of the community, it was discovered that many of the skilled workers came here years ago from Europe. For a time new apprentices were trained so that there was no apparent labor shortage up to 1930. Because of the depression, however, apprentice training programs were abandoned. As a consequence, during the past eight years, as business conditions have improved from time to time, it has been increasingly difficult for employers to find an adequate supply of well trained skilled craftsmen. As a result:

Committee I of the Four-Point Employment Program has devoted its efforts to a study of replacement needs in the various skilled occupations. These studies are now nearing completion. The next step will be to point out to employers, school authorities, and unions probable future needs. Such efforts will bring about gradually a closer integration of the needs and demands of industry and the worker. At the same time, considerable effort will be devoted to the study of the changes which occur as a result of technological advancement.

Committee II has proceeded along lines similar to Committee I but deals chiefly with those occupations in which a short period of training is necessary. These needs as shown can be related to the vocational training program in the community. Since last year additional

funds have been made available by the federal government through the George-Dean act to assist in upgrading employees in industry. Such a program improves the worker's chances for advancement. Through coördination of these activities, now under way, much can be done to promote the stabilization of employment in industry. Training courses preparing the worker for promotion will do much to improve the morale of the worker.

FINDING JOBS FOR THE UNTRAINED

Committee III undertook the task of increasing the number of opportunities in the community for the marginal worker. Several studies made by the department's research bureau and the Community Chest pointed out that a large proportion of those on relief are workers who for the most part are unskilled. Surveys of the more fortunate economic areas indicated that there were many casual jobs which were not being filled because of the difficulty of finding dependable workers. Committee III undertook this task on a small scale in the village of Wyoming, a suburb of Cincinnati. In this community the cooperation of the residents was secured, the dependent workers on relief in the adjacent areas were assembled. The result was the development of a considerable demand for workers who could take casual jobs in this area.

Growing out of this experience, Committee III merged its activities in 1938 with the labor division of the Ohio State Employment Service in Cincinnati and has attempted to expand its placement of marginal workers in the various neighborhoods and in industry. The fact that the number of casual placements made by the employment service doubled itself within a period of two months testifies to the possibilities of this kind of endeavor. Through this constructive program, which is being expanded throughout the community, the city can reduce its expenditures for direct relief. While it is no panacea for the relief problem, it can do much to relieve it and, incidentally, does a great deal more toward restoring the morale and self-confidence of marginal workers than any policy of direct public assistance can do.

Committee IV has devoted itself to the study of so-called unemployables in the community. Several careful investigations have shown that this residual load in the community consists of about 3,500 families. Many of the persons involved are superannuated; others are mothers of dependent children; others are wreckage resulting from industrial advancement, consisting chiefly of people whose skills are now obsolete and whose age or physical condition makes them a difficult rehabilitation and adjustment problem. As a result of the committee's work the community now knows how many unemployables it has, who they are, and why they are unemployable; a better understanding of the indigent has been brought about together with a better realization of what is required in order to meet the problem. Steps have been taken to transfer as many as are eligible to those divisions set up under the social security act for the care of dependents. As rapidly as this can be accomplished, the local relief burden is reduced. It must be emphasized, however, that the relief burden is not *eliminated*. The responsibility is shifted from the local agency to a state or federal one.

To glance back to the development of the organization in 1934, after the employment bureau was in operation, steps were taken to open up the other bureaus. Those next in order were research, retraining and adjustment (originally rehabilitation), and industrial management. The work relief bureau was not opened as the activities described in the original prospectus of the

department had been assumed largely by an Advisory Committee on Relief and Works Progress. This group met weekly and represented the heads of all of the administrative agencies concerned with relief and unemployment. It acted as a clearing house and planning committee and did much to stimulate and promote an advanced point of view among the agencies of the community.

The opening of the community planning bureau was deferred pending the development of a sufficient body of factual material in the social and economic fields on which to build. Since such a bureau of necessity must depend on careful research, more recently the major emphasis of the department has been on research and planning.

The value of the department's research material has been recognized and is being used increasingly by many public and private agencies in the community. Such studies make possible the integration of physical planning with the future industrial, economic, and social needs of the community. As time goes on, research studies indicating the status of supply and demand for labor will be increasingly important in all plans dealing with the development of the community.

TRAINING IN THE SCHOOLS

Growing out of the study of supply and demand in the labor market, attention has been turned to the need for a study of education and its relationship to the future labor supply. Several studies made by the department indicated that a large proportion of the young people coming through our public school system are without specialized training; and experience in the employment bureau indicates that many of these young people could have been placed more readily had their training been pointed in a more definite direction. As this problem was investigated, it soon became apparent that the mortality from year to year in the school system after the sixth grade is one which needs more thorough study.

The state law requires that children shall attend school from the ages of eight to eighteen unless they have been graduated from high school or unless special provisions are made for obtaining a work certificate. It has long been a matter of common knowledge that not all children in the sixth grade at age eleven can follow the regular curriculum of the public schools until they are eighteen years of age without becoming dissatisfied, perhaps developing bad work habits and improper attitudes which make their adjustment to business and industrial life in the community difficult. Unless steps are taken to provide the type of training which equips a larger proportion of young people to take their places in business and industry, we shall encourage a policy of increasing dependency of large masses of people. Realizing the importance of this problem, it is impossible to suggest intelligent changes in our educational program without knowing what is the nature of these opportunities, how many there are, and what types of training are required in order to fit young men and women to accept them. This problem is by no means settled at the present time but research up to now indicates pretty clearly the industries which are expanding, those which are declining, and those which are relatively stationary. Future trends have been projected and replacement rates have been calculated for the purpose of establishing for the community a tangible goal which needs to be met.

Another arm of the department which has been functioning for some time is the adjustment bureau. Its problem has concerned itself with an attempt to translate the maladjusted dependent into an economic asset. More recently its efforts have been devoted to the

orientation of young men and women graduating from school. A plan of cooperation has been effected during the last year between the Ohio State Employment Service, the Cincinnati Board of Education, and the Regional Department in which the responsibility for placing the young graduate will fall to the public employment service in larger measure than has been true heretofore. The preliminary results of this arrangement are encouraging and show great possibilities for the future. The relationship between the employment service and the Board of Education will be helpful to both organizations. The complete school records of the Board of Education are a great help to the adjustment bureau and the employment service in pointing out those areas which the young graduate is best qualified to enter. Placement experience of the employment service with these young people will be increasingly valuable to the Board of Education in appraising the effectiveness of its efforts. The department has devoted a good deal of time and energy to pointing out the need of promoting this coöperative arrangement.

Since the establishment of its research bureau, the department has coöperated and worked continuously with other research and planning agencies in the community. The commercial, business, social, and population data are used now in conjunction with planning efforts in the housing field, real estate research, the county engineer's office, the city planning commission, the public utilities, the Chamber of Commerce, the Community Chest, and the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research. No small part of the efforts in this direction have been devoted to the elimination of duplicate efforts of various agencies to gain the same information. To this extent the department has acted as a coordinating agency. While there is still much to be desired in that direction, the program is well on its way.

THE DEPARTMENT'S PLACE IN THE COMMUNITY

The value of a separate department whose functions are primarily to investigate, promote, and coördinate activities in the social and economic development of the community seems to be thoroughly established. Its chief value lies in the fact that such a department is not directly responsible to the various governmental units. It works with them and through them but is not a part of them. It assumes the position and rôle of the detached observer to a large extent. After investigations and studies have been made, they are submitted to the agencies in the community which are interested. After discussion the agency most capable of carrying forward the program is selected, other agencies coöperating. Frequently the department is in a position to bring together groups with different points of view which are affected by the program, lay the problem before them, and, through discussion, work out an acceptable plan of action.

The department more recently has avoided the public spotlight. It has attempted to work quietly with the administrative agencies upon which it must depend ultimately to carry out its program. It has pointed out the need for careful inquiry into industrial and social problems, particularly as they will affect the lives of the children now in the schools. It has pointed out that the nation as well as individual cities would do well to make careful inquiry into job opportunities, requirements to meet these jobs, and the rate at which people may be absorbed in the various lines of industry. Our failure to have this information in the large cities throughout the country has resulted in programs of temporizing in the last sev-

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The Selection of City Administrative Officials

Group of successful former administrators, who were themselves elected and who voluntarily retired, favor short ballot and appointed executives for cities.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The committee which made the accompanying report on a study of the question of whether municipal executives should be appointed or elected was chosen by the League of Wisconsin Municipalities from among former mayors of cities of that state, all of whom retired from office undefeated. Students of government will be especially interested in comparing their conclusions, reached through hard experience, with basic principles found in the *Model City Charter*.

How should administrative city officials be selected? This is a question which has arisen in many Wisconsin cities. The practice throughout the state is not uniform. In some communities the only city officials that are elected by popular vote are those who are the representatives of the people pledged to carry out their will in the determination of policies, namely, the members of the common council and the mayor. On the other hand, in some cities the voters are compelled to fill numerous positions of purely administrative character such as street superintendent, police chief, assessor, city engineer, health officer, city clerk, attorney, street foreman, treasurer, and the like.

Under the home rule and general powers of Wisconsin cities this is a question that each community can decide for itself. The problem is to ascertain the proper policy. City officials throughout Wisconsin have been giving considerable attention to this subject. In the belief that their conclusions may be of value the president of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities requested several individuals, who had served their cities as mayor for a period of years, and who had subsequently voluntarily relinquished their public office so that they could resume their place in the ranks of private citizens, to make a study of this problem and issue their recommendations thereon. It was believed that these individuals, who are familiar both with the requirements of effective city administration and with the viewpoint on this matter of the private citizen, could consider the subject from all angles in an objective manner and recommend what seemed to be the best solution in the public interest.

This report will confine itself entirely to the discussion of the selection of department heads and other administrative city officials. No attempt will be made to consider a complete personnel policy for city employees in general.

THE PROBLEM

City government today is quite a different affair from what it was when its pattern was first established in this country. Our present municipal structure was laid out largely in the days when city services were very elementary and when the country was predominantly rural in character. As recently as 1880 only about one-fourth of the country's population resided in urban communities. Today three-fifths of the people live in cities and villages. An urban civilization has developed which requires the performance of community functions formerly deemed unnecessary. Public water supplies, sewage disposal, refuse collection, parks and recreation, libraries, and similar activities are of

comparatively recent origin in most communities. Regulatory activities such as building inspection, zoning control, and the checking of weights and measures are a few of the municipal functions that have become necessary in urban communities.

Moreover, cities now perform many functions of a complex character which in the past were of quite a simple nature or were performed on a private or voluntary basis. Whereas in the past roads and streets could be maintained by having citizens work out their road taxes, the present day highway involves many complex engineering problems. Whereas the casual night watchman, many times on a private basis, sufficed in the past, it is now clear that criminals who use automobiles, radio, and high-powered firearms can be caught only through the use of up-to-date scientific methods. In similar fashion fire fighting has developed a technique which requires equipment and a knowledge quite different from the days of the original private fire companies. The present day health department must be equipped to cope with the sanitary and communicable disease problems arising where population is congested. Due to the extensive preparation of food outside of the home and the mobility of the population new health problems have arisen.

This increase in the number and scope of municipal services has naturally materially increased the cost of city government. The action of the state in imposing additional costs on city government has further increased the financial burden on property owners in cities because of the fact that virtually all of these costs have been paid for out of general property taxes. City officials, because of the inability to levy modern forms of taxes, have had to increase property taxes to a point which in some cases has become burdensome. It therefore is essential that city officials make every effort to keep municipal costs at the lowest possible point consistent with providing essential municipal services of the quality required by citizens. They must exercise their ingenuity in finding ways of cutting municipal costs.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that proper management is the key to the success of any organization, whether it be political, business, social, or otherwise. The effectiveness with which any institution operates depends very largely upon whether those who are directing its activities are capable administrators. This is the reason why in the everyday world those who have shown their ability as administrators are usually the highest paid persons on the payroll.

In almost any city investigation will disclose that the annual municipal budget is higher than that of most, if not all, of the corporations in the community. This is not strange when it is considered at how many points municipal government and its services affect the everyday lives of its citizens. For that reason it would appear that it is only good judgment for the community to insist that competent persons be selected to guide the various city departments and undertakings. The citizens of a city are entitled to the ablest administrators that it is feasible for their municipal government to obtain. Cities have frequently found that it is not good economy to hire cheap administrators but rather that taxes are kept lower if qualified persons are secured to operate the city government.

The question therefore arises as to just what is the proper method of selecting municipal administrators.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION

A century ago it was the general belief that all men were equally able to discharge the duties of a governmental office. This was in the days of the pioneer when individuals found it necessary to be completely self-reliant with

the result that they and their families were prepared to do everything necessary for day-to-day existence. Since then has come the industrial revolution and the age of specialization. The jack-of-all-trades is largely non-existent now and most individuals have jobs the duties of which are quite limited in character. The same thing has happened in the field of city government as in all other lines of activity.

In former days when city government was a very rudimentary affair the custom of volunteer or part-time citizen service arose. Because the duties of municipal office were simple in character it was a relatively easy matter to pass them around from one citizen to another without any particular training or experience being required. Thus arose the habit of electing administrative city officials. Some of this habit has carried over into the present day.

At this point it is pertinent to try to determine just what is the American theory of selecting administrative government officials. Probably no better indication can be found than to ascertain the theory expressed by the framers of our federal constitution. They provide that the government of the United States shall be conducted in all its departments with only two elective officials, the president and the vice president. The latter now performs functions largely of a legislative character while acting as a substitute. Today under our federal constitution a citizen of this country votes only for four federal offices, the president, the vice president, senator, and member of the House of Representatives. In theory a citizen does not even vote for president or vice president, but rather selects presidential electors who, according to the apparent original intentions of the framers of the constitution, were supposed to select the best available individuals to fill these two offices.

The practice of electing municipal officials has continued in many states because of the desire to strengthen party machines through providing jobs for political henchmen. This necessity does not exist in the case of Wisconsin city government because of the fact that Wisconsin city offices are filled on a non-political basis without party designation, thus divorcing city government from state and national politics.

RECENT TRENDS

Because, as has been pointed out previously, many city administrative activities now involve difficult technical problems, there is an increasing recognition of the fact that there are certain key city posts which can be filled only by those having the necessary experience and training. A city engineer who is not qualified can make engineering mistakes which are very costly to the taxpayers. A waterworks superintendent who does not know how to operate the water system properly may make it necessary to charge higher water rates. Epidemics can be prevented and the public health protected only where the health officer has the necessary technical experience and training. Many other examples will suggest themselves.

Industry and business have found that turn-over in important positions is quite costly. In similar fashion the public cannot afford to have experienced city department heads replaced by individuals who must spend years learning the job properly, where this can be avoided. For example, the city clerk is now an important administrative official. He must administer the city's finances and its budget system. He must supervise the conduct of elections. He must keep the official records of the city and he must perform innumerable allied duties. A city has a real financial investment in an experienced city clerk and the efficiency of the city government necessarily suffers if that clerk

is replaced by one who must learn how to perform these duties properly. The same is true of other administrative positions.

In England municipal government has created a real career service. There the government attracts into its ranks some of the strongest and most intelligent young people of each generation. Our city governments should likewise offer careers for persons of first-rate ability. The public service should not be manned by persons failing to achieve success in the competitive world.

Some Wisconsin cities have proceeded along this line. The most recent example is that of the city of West Allis which by charter ordinance has abandoned the selection of the clerk, comptroller, and treasurer by election and has provided that they shall be appointed by a two-thirds vote of the common council and shall hold office for an indefinite term subject to removal for cause.

WEAKNESSES IN THE ELECTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS

While frequently elected officials are men of high calibre, emphasis is placed upon their success as vote-getters rather than their administrative capacity. A person fitted by training and experience for an administrative position may have no vote-getting ability. It is difficult to make a profession out of a position where the selection is based upon popular appeal rather than professional standards.

If municipal service is not to suffer there must be continuity in policy. The program of a particular city department may be seriously disrupted if the person in charge is suddenly replaced through the vicissitudes of popular election.

Fortunately in many Wisconsin cities there has arisen the tradition of re-electing administrative officials who have gained the necessary experience to perform their duties effectively. On the other hand, there have been glaring instances where capable administrators have been turned out of office for some irrelevant reason, or because the opponent used campaign methods effective in securing votes.

Where city administrators are elected they must devote much of their energies to "fence-building." This automatically results in at least partial neglect of their city job in that some of their attention must be diverted from the main task at hand. In fact, frequently incumbents of such positions become weary of the necessity of constant compaigning and accept another position as it becomes available, thus depriving the public of valuable experience.

A business corporation would never think of filling a key administrative position by a referendum of its stockholders. Although it is true that business and industry operate for profit while municipal government functions to provide needed public services, nevertheless, there is a common aim in that both stockholders and citizens desire to have the utmost economy exercised in the expenditure of their money.

Where municipal department heads are elected the result is sometimes interference with official municipal administration. A department head may announce that he has a direct mandate from the people and therefore is not required to accept suggestions from the council or from the mayor with respect to improved methods. It is also difficult to control a situation where he neglects his duties.

The election of department heads also sometimes results in lack of coöperation between city departments such as in matters of the interchange of personnel at peak periods for the purpose of keeping municipal payrolls at the lowest possible point. There have also been instances where the installation of

modern mechanical methods was prevented because one elected official refused to participate in a program involving several city departments.

Many small cities have found that greater efficiency and economy can be attained if, instead of having a number of part-time officials, the duties of several are combined and one full-time individual is appointed who has the necessary ability to effectively discharge all of these duties. This is not possible where some of these part-time offices are filled by election.

CITIZEN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT

It is essential that the citizens of any city should have complete control of their municipal government. This is accomplished by the election of a common council, the members of which fairly reflect the opinions and interests of the community. It is they who have the ultimate authority to decide matters of general policy.

The ballot cannot be an effective instrument of popular control unless the voter is able to use it intelligently. The democratic process is most successful where the attention of the voters can be focused upon a few offices, the incumbents of which can be held strictly accountable. A voter is likely to develop electoral indifference if he is confronted by a long ballot which bewilders him because he is completely familiar neither with the duties of the offices to be filled nor with the individuals who are candidates therefor.

The present trend is toward the simplification of government so that citizens can definitely fix responsibility and can effectively watch how their government is being operated. One of the best ways of hiding a public servant is to mix him up with many others so that none of them are important enough to attract the attention of the average citizen.

It is difficult enough to persuade citizens to take an intelligent interest in their city government without confusing them by the number of officials they must elect and hold responsible. If there are too many, most citizens will not even try to become familiar with their records. The direct election of administrative officials has been a failure as a means of democratic control because the people show too little interest in their selection to exercise any real power of choice.

Democratic government is at the crossroads in the world today. Representatives of new forms of government attack democracy as a debating society in which there is too much lost motion. It therefore seems increasingly important that democratic governments be made efficient. One of the best tools to accomplish this is the recruitment of a high order of administrative and technical competency.

SELECTING GOOD ADMINISTRATORS

Former Chief Justice Ryan of the Wisconsin Supreme Court stated that: "Where you want skill you must appoint; where you want representation, elect."

The average citizen is too busy with his own affairs to be able to devote the necessary attention to the selection of administrative municipal officials even if it were feasible to work out some scheme of having large groups of citizens perform this function. Too often the public is impressed by charm of manner, skill in public speaking, adeptness in securing group support, and the like, but after all this has little relationship to the question of whether the particular person has a sound engineering background, is qualified to deal with the many perplexing problems of municipal finance, has received the technical training required to provide effective police protection, and the like.

Instead, it seems pretty clear that such details can be ascertained best by

appointment only after a searching investigation of the individual's experience and ability. Definite techniques have been worked out for securing this information. Even more important, such selection can be based upon extremely practical considerations rather than upon purely theoretical factors. Where a city does not have in force a complete civil service system, it is not difficult to use the alternative method of appointing a special committee of qualified persons to conduct an examination for such a position.

There are three possible methods of appointing city administrators: one is through selection by the mayor; another is by appointment by the mayor with confirmation by the common council; and the third is selection by a majority vote of the council. Each method has its adherents and no attempt will be made here to analyze the strong and weak points of each method.

When industry desires to fill an important vacancy it searches for the best man it can afford to employ regardless of where he is found. While it is desirable to give employment to local citizens where possible, certain technical and key administrative positions are so important to the proper functioning of the city government that public interest requires that the best man available be appointed regardless of residence. There is the further factor that a real career system can be built up for important administrative positions only if it is possible as in England for a man who has been a success in a small municipality to be able to keep moving to a larger municipality as openings occur. In the average municipality there will not be a great many positions of this character.

While it is essential that administrative officials be given indefinite tenure and reasonable security against dismissal without cause, nevertheless the way should be left open under proper safeguards to replace individuals who, through indifference, indolence, or failure to keep abreast of new developments, do not continue to render effective service in the public interest. The danger of stagnation in important positions should be guarded against.

CONCLUSION

In the 1938 *Municipal Year Book* a writer refers to "Wisconsin, with her customary lead on her sister commonwealths in matters governmental." Wisconsin city governments which admittedly compare very favorable with those in other states should not be content to rest on past achievements but should continue to forge ahead. After all, "Forward" is the motto of Wisconsin and the aim should be to constantly raise the calibre of city government in this state. It is believed that the strengthening of the city administrative service in this state offers one of the greatest possibilities of improving municipal government in Wisconsin.

It is realized that there are many faithful elected administrative officials now holding office in Wisconsin cities. In conformity with the customary practice in such cases any change from an elective to an appointive basis should probably give indefinite tenure to those now holding these offices.

It is recognized that no system of governmental organization can be devised which is absolutely fool-proof and which cannot be improperly used. Nevertheless, it is believed that the method recommended herein will in most instances in the long run provide the best results for Wisconsin cities. As Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes has stated: "There is no greater mistake than to withhold the power to do well in the fear of ill. There is no adequate power that cannot be abused. But we must endeavor to find a remedy against

abuse short of making official and administrative power inadequate."

HENRY HANSEN, *member,* Brotherhood of Railway Firemen, former mayor of Platteville

J. HAROLD BUMBY, *secretary-treasurer,* Advertiser's Manufacturing Company, former mayor of Ripon

A. R. GMEINER, *treasurer,* Con. Gmeiner and Sons, Incorporated, former mayor of Waupaca

T. D. HEFKO, *florist,* former mayor of Marshfield

GEORGE W. MEAD, *president,* Consolidated Water Power and Paper Co., former mayor of Wisconsin Rapids.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Reprinted from *The Municipality* (organ of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities), October, 1938.

FORTY-FOURTH CONFERENCE

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The League is often credited with having been the spearhead of the entire movement for the progress of municipal government and largely responsible for the acceptance and spread of the council-manager plan, the short ballot principle, modern budgeting and accounting procedures for cities, centralized purchasing, proportional representation, improved election methods, and other improvements.

Many local inspirations for governmental improvement have stemmed from previous conferences. It is said in Baltimore that that city's highly effective Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy was formed at least partially as a result of attendance by some of its founders at the 1928 conference in Cincinnati.

At this year's conference, one of the most original departures will be found in the opening session on "Publicizing Government," of which Carl W. Ackerman, distinguished dean of the School of Journalism at Columbia University, is chairman. Many other prominent authorities on various phases of governmental problems will appear on the program. Among important subjects will be county government, relief, planning, housing, municipal finance, personnel, tax limitation and exemption, law enforcement, purchasing, public management, proportional representation, and citizen action.

Clarence A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin, and Miss Marguerite M. Wells, president of the National League of Women Voters, president and vice-president, respectively, of the National Municipal League, will be the speakers at the annual banquet the evening of December 1st.

A. W.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

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pundits were ringleaders in a "plot" to bring city management to Cambridge.

To us the action of the Cambridge council appears eminently reasonable and appropriate. Heretofore in other cities opposition to the city manager plan has taken the form of specious arguments regarding the plan's "unfairness to labor," its tendency to "dictatorship," its "unrepresentativeness." But always the arguers must have known that they were making up bedtime stories to lull the voters into a lasting slumber. The Cambridge politicians, on the other hand, are frank in their reasons for opposing the city manager plan. They are against anything which is intelligent, learned, or impartial, i.e., Harvard and the manager plan.

M. R.

Indiana Lobby-Control Found Insufficient

Under Present Interpretation of Law Many Organizations Escape Necessity of Registration

SUFFICIENT time has now elapsed since the passage of pressure-group legislation in Indiana to make possible a consideration of its effectiveness. The basic law was enacted by the General Assembly in 1931 and applied for the first time to the special legislative session held in 1932. The act limits itself to agents of pressure groups in the legislature and therefore excludes the powerful interests which exert pressure on the Public Service Commission, the State Board of Education, and several other departments of the state government.

Under the provisions of the act pressure groups maintaining agents in the sessions of the General Assembly must register their names, the names of their representatives, and a description of their general purposes with the secretary of state. During the special session of 1932 sixteen groups complied with the law and registered. During the regular session of 1933 thirty-two groups furnished the required information. Two years later the number had increased to forty-seven. During a very important special session held in 1936 to consider social security and welfare legislation only four registrations were lodged with the secretary of state. In 1937, however, when the General Assembly convened in regular session, forty-seven groups again complied with the law. Thus it may be noted that the number of registrations increased somewhat until 1935, but that since that time, with the exception of a special session for a limited purpose, the number has remained constant.

A ruling of the Indiana attorney general's office, to the effect that only those pressure groups paying agents expressly for their services in the legislature come under the law, has undoubtedly seriously interfered with the satisfactory administration of the act. Under this technical interpretation many of the strongest groups which maintain permanent organizations with full-time agents do not feel that they are affected by the law and hence do not register at all.

The forty-seven pressure groups registering in 1937 reported seventy-nine agents at work among the members of the General Assembly. A classification of these reveals that labor stood at the top both as to number of groups registered and number of agents employed, the respective numbers being eleven and twenty-five. Banking and insurance came second, with eight registrations and eleven agents. Business accounted for six registrations and nine agents; while the public utilities had six registrations and eight agents. Four groups of public officials reported seven agents; three real estate groups, four representatives; and two liquor-gambling concerns, two agents. The construction business had one registration and two agents; agriculture one registration and four representatives; and miscellaneous groups accounted for the three remaining five registrations and seven agents. As one goes over the descriptions of the purposes of the pressure groups which registered, it becomes apparent that they are so general and ambiguous in nature as to be almost meaningless.

Of the registered pressure groups in 1937 the United Mine Workers and the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees exceeded all other groups in number of agents employed to cultivate the members of the General Assembly.

Each group reported five paid agents. Probably the most powerful single pressure group in the 1937 session, the Indiana Farm Bureau entered the names of four representatives on the records provided by the secretary of state. Another exceedingly powerful group which stood out because of its unscrupulousness and general determination to protect the selfish interests of its members, the Indiana County and Township Officials' Association, also employed four paid agents in the legislative session of 1937.

Many of the most important pressure groups did not register at all in 1937. These included the Indiana Taxpayers' Association, the Indiana Bankers' Association, the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the Indiana Manufacturers' Association, the Indiana Federation of Teachers, the Indiana State Teachers' Association, the Indiana Department of the American Legion, Indiana University, the Indiana Bar Association, the Indiana Medical Association, the Indiana League of Municipalities, the Indiana Retail Grocers' and Meat Dealers' Association, the Associated Retailers of Indiana, the Indiana Fraternal Congress, the Indiana Electric Light Association, the Indiana Policemen's Association, and the Indiana Firemen's Association. Altogether at least one hundred organized pressure groups were active in the 1937 session of the General Assembly, but only forty-seven registered with the secretary of state.

Some light is thrown on the effectiveness of the law by examining the records of the seven pressure groups which probably exerted the greatest influence on the General Assembly during the 1937 session. Three of these, the Indiana Farm Bureau, the Indiana County and Township Officials' Association, and the labor groups headed by the Railway Trainmen, complied with the law and registered with the secretary of state. Four, the Indiana Taxpayers' Association, the Indiana Bankers' Association, the teacher groups led by the Indiana State Teachers' Association and the Indiana Federation of Teachers, and Indiana University, did not file the information required by the law.

It might be assumed that the pressure groups which have not registered include those which constitute the greatest menace to the legislative process. Actually, it is only fair to state that there is little evidence of such a condition. In general, the standards of the four non-registered groups listed above were higher than those of the registered groups, although if the notorious Indiana County and Township Officials' Association were omitted from the first group there would be little difference. A rough breakdown of the forty-seven groups which complied with the law reveals that thirty were interested almost exclusively in their own projects, sixteen combined interest in pet bills with general interest in legislation, and one supported all legislation that seemed likely to promote the general welfare. A similar classification of fifty-seven non-registered groups would place twenty-nine in the first category, twenty-three in the second, and five in the third.

Perhaps the best thing that can be said in regard to the existing law is that it constitutes a beginning. To be at all effective, it should specifically include the powerful organizations which at present escape under the technical ruling of the attorney general. Moreover, a really adequate law might include the pressure groups which are active in other departments of the state government. The conduct of certain school book concerns in connection with the State Board of Education and of certain utility companies in dealings with the Public Service Commission indicates the

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New Research Bureau Established at Hartford

Carter Atkins of St. Louis Appointed as Bureau's First Director

THE research movement moved forward another step on October 7th when it was announced in Hartford, Connecticut, that Carter W. Atkins, veteran researcher, past president of the Governmental Research Association, member of the council of the National Municipal League, and for fifteen years director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, had been appointed to head a newly formed research bureau for Hartford.

The local Chamber of Commerce and leading business men, including prominent officials of the insurance companies for which Hartford is noted, were the organizers of the new bureau, which is to be called the Governmental Research Institute, Inc. Frazar B. Wilde, president of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, who is chairman of the Institute, expressed the aims of the research organization as follows:

"It is the intention of the sponsors here that it will be an impartial, fact-finding instrument for the information of anyone in the community. We hope that it may demonstrate where municipal economies may be effected, or where better service can be furnished at no advance in expenditures, but it will be done in a spirit of objective presentation of the facts. Moreover, it is not set up with the promise to the people that it will immediately lower the tax rate."

A note encouraging to those who feel that research, like art, is long, is found in Mr. Wilde's insistence on the permanence of the bureau. "No such bureau," he added, "could serve effectively and to the best advantage of the community on a one-year or similar short-time basis."

The bureau will be financed by the Chamber of Commerce, which recently succeeded in raising a substantial maintenance fund, but it will have a directorship of its own. The formation of the bureau grew out of a series of "business clinics" programs sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, at which a twelve-point program was formulated which placed first the need for a "tax bureau" which would "conduct a scientific research and investigation into public affairs, make public this information, and promote economy and efficiency in the conduct of public affairs, particularly in the municipal affairs of the city of Hartford."

After the general need had been felt for some such bureau, the executive secretary of the National Municipal League was called on for advice as to the specific kind of organization which should be set up, and the type of leadership desirable. It was then that Mr. Atkins' name was suggested.

Carter W. Atkins has had a long record of service to research. He was born forty-seven years ago in Mexico, Missouri, and attended Missouri and Washington Universities, taking special courses in accounting, economics, and political science. After serving with the United States Ordnance Corps during the World War he went on to service in the research field, at which he has been occupied ever since.

M. R.

The City Manager's Code of Ethics

This revision of the first code adopted in 1924 was approved on September 29, 1938, at the twenty-fifth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association at Boston.

IN ORDER to achieve effective, democratic government, the council-manager plan provides that municipal policy shall be determined exclusively by a legislative body elected by the people and that the administration of policy shall be vested in the city manager who, as administrative head of the city, shall be appointed by and responsible to the council. The International City Managers' Association is a professional organization of city managers; its purpose is to increase the proficiency of city managers and to aid in the general improvement of municipal administration. To further these objectives the association believes that these ethical principles should govern the conduct of every professional city manager:

1. No member of the profession seeks or accepts a position as city manager unless he is fully in accord with the principles of council-manager government and unless he is confident that he is qualified to serve under these principles as city manager to the advantage of the community.

2. The city manager has a firm belief in the dignity and worth of the services rendered by government and a deep sense of his own social responsibility as a trusted public servant.

3. The city manager is governed by the highest ideals of honor and integrity in all his public and personal relationships in order that he may merit the respect and inspire the confidence of the administrative organization which he directs and of the public which he serves.

4. The city manager believes that personal aggrandizement or personal profit secured by confidential information or by misuse of public time is dishonest.

5. The city manager is in no sense a political leader. In order that policy may be intelligent and effective, he provides the council with information and advice, but he encourages positive decisions on policy by the council instead of passive acceptance of his recommendations.

6. The city manager realizes that it is the council, the elected representatives of the people, which is entitled to the credit for the fulfillment of municipal policies and leaves to the council the defense of policies which may be criticized.

7. The city manager keeps the community informed on municipal affairs but keeps himself in the background by emphasizing the importance of the facts.

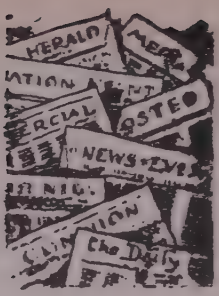
8. The city manager, in order to preserve his integrity as a professional administrator, resists any encroachment on his control of personnel, insists on the exercise of his own judgment in accomplishing council policies, and deals frankly with the council as a unit rather than secretly with its individual members.

9. The city manager handles all matters of personnel on the basis of merit. Political, religious, and racial considerations carry no weight in appointments, salary increases, promotions, and discipline in the municipal service.

10. The city manager curries no personal favors. He is the administrator for all the people and handles each administrative problem without discrimination on the basis of principle and justice.

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT
October 1938

Recent News Reviewed



NOTES AND EVENTS

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Council-Manager Plan Developments.—Hutchinson, Kansas, (27,085) will vote on a manager charter November 8th. If adopted, the plan will go into effect next April, following the election of a five-man council at the regular city election.

In Greenwood, South Carolina, (11,020) on the same day, a vote will be taken to determine whether the citizens are in favor of the city manager plan. This is expected to be in the nature of an advisory vote for the information of the legislators in considering manager legislation when the general assembly meets in January.

Other cities voting on manager charters, as mentioned in previous issues, include Yonkers, New York, (134,646), Cambridge (113,643), Quincy (71,930), and Northampton (24,381), Massachusetts, all of whose charters include the use of proportional representation in the election of the council; and Chicopee, Massachusetts, (43,930), voting on the manager plan only.

Battle Creek, Michigan, (43,757), Traverse City, Michigan, (12,539) and South Euclid, Ohio, (4,399) are voting on the election of charter commissions. In all three cities there are active movements for manager government.

In Waltham, Massachusetts, (39,247) where petitions were filed asking for an election on the city manager plan and proportional representation, the State Ballot Law Commission has refused to certify the petitions for the November election because "the clerk failed to put a pin through the separate sheets, thus attaching them as required by law." In Midland, Michigan, (8,038) petitions asking for a revision of the city's charter and nominating members of a commission to draft such a charter were also kept off the November ballot because of a ruling of the city attorney that they were not filed in sufficient time. It is hoped that the Midland election will be held a few months hence.

Much interest in the manager plan is reported in Gardiner, Maine, (5,609).

The manager idea both for Jefferson County, Alabama, and the city of Birmingham, situated therein, has progressed so far that Senator James A. Simpson, according to the *Birmingham Post*, believes that the legislature will authorize the two proposals, subject to a referendum next spring. Two five-man councils, one for the city and another for the county, with nominal salaries, are proposed, to supersede the city commission in 1941 and the county commission at the end of 1942, when the incumbents' terms expire.

According to the *State*, of Columbia, South Carolina, a law enforcement association in that city is asking the legislators, as one of six propositions inquired about, to work for a city manager bill for Columbia, the state capital. This was editorially commended.

On September 8th, by a vote of six to one, the borough of Ephrata, Pennsylvania, (4,988 population) decided to take advantage of the state borough manager law; it is the first community in Lancaster County to adopt council-manager government.

Ashland (29,074) and Paducah, (33,541) Kentucky, will vote on November 8th on proposals to abandon their manager charters.

Houston, Texas, on October 3rd, defeated some twenty-nine proposed changes to its charter, a number of which would have provided a modified manager plan.

First Pan American Congress of Municipalities.—The city of Havana has been selected as the meeting place of the First Pan American Congress of Municipalities. The Congress will hold its sessions November 14th to 19th, at which time its organization will be perfected and permanent officials chosen.

Among the speakers from this country are included such prominent persons in the field of government as the following: Frank Bane, executive director of the Council of State Governments, formerly director of the Social Security Board; Walter H. Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials; Clarence E. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin and of the National Municipal League; Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee; William Hodson, commissioner of the Department of Welfare of New York City; Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior of the United States; William E. Mosher, director of the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University; Clarence E. Ridley, executive director of the International City Managers' Association; Donald C. Stone, executive director of Public Administration Service; and Leonard D. White, formerly a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, now professor of public administration at the University of Chicago.

The subjects to be discussed include municipal organization and administration, public utilities, public works, transportation, public safety, social problems and activities, and intermunicipal coöperation.

*

Studies of Local and Territorial Government in Hawaii.—The Honolulu Charter Commission, which was authorized by action of the 1937 legislature, has been functioning for several months and has made quite an exhaustive study of the city manager, the strong mayor-council, and other forms of municipal government, and has about arrived at its conclusions upon which its report to the governor and legislature will be based.

The Honolulu Charter Commission, the mayor and the Board of Supervisors of the city and county of Honolulu requested the Hawaii Bureau of Governmental Research to make a study of municipal government administration in Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain cities with the view to evaluating local governmental services and activities by comparison with similar activities in these mainland cities. The secretary of the bureau has been studying these cities at first hand and the bureau is now preparing a report based upon that study, which will be submitted to the charter commission and to the mayor and Board of Supervisors.

In addition to the studies of city and county government administration, the Governor's Advisory Committee on Public Personnel Administration has been very active during the past year. The advisory committee was appointed by the governor and instructed to make a thorough study of all problems pertaining to local public personnel administration, and to make such recommendations to the governor and the legislature as, in the opinion of the commission, would put local public administration on a modern, scientific basis. The governor's committee has made a thorough study of local employment conditions in private industries and enterprises and in the local federal service and compared these conditions with those now existing in local governmental service. From these studies and comparisons they have about arrived at definite conclusions upon which their recommendations to the governor and the legislature will be based.

Because of the low price of sugar and conditions which have prevailed in the pineapple industry for the past several months, there has been a very heavy falling off in the net income tax collections made by the territorial government. The territorial Bureau of the Budget and the Hawaii Bureau of Governmental Research have been requested to make a study of the present financial situation and to make recommendations to the governor which will assist him in submitting a balanced budget to the 1939 legislature for the biennial period 1939-1941.

In addition to these activities upon the part of the Bureau of Governmental Research and the Bureau of the Budget, a legislative holdover committee, composed of a selected group of senators and representatives, has for the past several months been making a study of territorial government administration with the view to determining the possibilities of mergers and amalgamations of departments, boards, and commissions in order to simplify

the administration of the government and to reduce its cost. Findings of this joint hold-over committee probably will be ready for release some time near the end of the year.

NOLLE R. SMITH, *Secretary*
Hawaii Bureau of Governmental Research

Students Inspect Metropolitan Areas.—Under the leadership of Harold S. Jacoby, assistant professor of sociology at the College of the Pacific, Stockton, California, a group of students during the past summer visited one mid-western and four eastern metropolitan communities, gaining first-hand knowledge of various physical, governmental, and socio-economic characteristics. The cities visited were Chicago, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, and Boston. The program included attention to city planning, housing, governmental organization, formal and informal, transportation, recreation, poor relief, education, health, etc. In New York it was carried out with the most thoroughness. Inspection trips and seminars were held, with the co-operation of leaders of the various type of activities.

Memphis to Rezone against Blight.—A re-examination of the city plan of Memphis, Tennessee, in the light of social, economic, and technological changes, has recently been undertaken at the instance of Mayor Watkins Overton, and a rezoning of the city is expected to follow, largely with the idea of removing some of the reasons for blighted areas which Memphis, like all large American cities, includes within its limits. Emphasis will be shifted from commercial to residential use, with steadier and more dependable land values. According to Commissioner Ralph Picard, neighborhood planning will be carried out, following rezoning, with encouragement for coöperative action of property owners for neighborhood protection and improvement.

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Toward a Better City.—The Philadelphia Award, established by public-spirited Edward W. Bok some seventeen years ago, has a Scottish counterpart in the recently announced Glasgow Award.

A resident of Glasgow, who desires to remain anonymous, has just instituted a fund to provide a prize to be awarded once in every three years. It is expected to have a value of $5,000.

This prize is to be awarded to the person who, in the opinion of the selectors, has in the course of the preceding three-year period done the most for the city of Glasgow by way of action, instruction, or suggestion along the lines laid down by the donor.

The fund itself is to be of a permanent nature, its trustees being the Union Bank of Scotland. Its selectors will be a representative committee of Glasgow citizens.

It is intended that the first award will be made in the fall of 1939, the prize being officially known as the St. Mungo Prize—in tribute to the city's patron saint.

JASPER B. SINCLAIR

City Printing Cost Pared by WPA.—Reductions of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually in New York City's printing bill are being made possible through recommendations of a WPA project, according to a report by Deputy Commissioner of Purchase Albert Pleydell. The work is that of the standardization of forms and procedures project, under the joint sponsorship of Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick, Commissioner of Purchase Russell Forbes, and Commissioner of Investigation William B. Herlands. Besides drastically reducing the number of forms and of sizes and grades of paper, the work will increase clerical efficiency.

*

New Director for Council of State Governments.—The Council of State Governments has recently announced that Frank Bane, director of the Social Security Board at Washington and formerly director of the American Public Welfare Association, has accepted the position of executive director of the council. Mr. Bane succeeds Hon. Henry W. Toll, a former member of the Colorado State Senate, who has resigned after serving for a number of years as the Council's first and only director.

Interstate Regional Conference.—Interstate and regional problems ranging from river pollution to trade barriers will be considered at the 1938 regional assembly called by the Council of State Governments in Chicago for November 21st and 22nd, for districts 5 and 7, which include Illinois, Indi-

ana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Two eastern districts will also be represented.

*

State Financial Officers Discuss Social Security.—The relation of the federal social security act to state fiscal officers, who are generally responsible for its financial administration in the states, will be the foremost topic at the 1938 conference of the National Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers, and Treasurers, meeting in Gulfport, Mississippi, November 15th to 17th.

The first two days of the meeting will be devoted largely to financial administration of social security and relief; round tables on accounting and auditing problems and on supervision of local governments with respect to their debt problems will be features of the final day's sessions.

*

Social Legislation Prominent in States This Year.—The list of laws passed in the twenty-six legislative sessions in 1938, according to the Council of State Governments, stressed labor provisions, low-rent housing, planning, social disease control, social security and public welfare, and relief financing. There were nine regular and seventeen special sessions, two of the latter carrying over from 1937. One regular session (New Jersey) and one special (Pennsylvania) were still in progress in October.

The number of states with local housing authority enabling legislation was brought to thirty-three, and all forty-eight states have now adopted social security plans for assistance to the aged, the blind, and dependent children; and various states passed laws liberalizing unemployment compensation, old-age assistance, etc. Four states acted on planning or zoning provisions. The year was notable for absence of acts levying new taxes.

*

Extending Civil Service Classification Plans.—In line with increased activity of state and local governments in maintaining up-to-date classification plans for defining duties and responsibilities of positions under their civil service systems, the states of Michigan, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey completed or planned for classification of all state employees during the past year, according to the Civil Service Assembly. Michigan and Connecticut used the classifications as the initial step in installing state civil service. New York began a general reclassification program by authorization of its legislature, which established a permanent classification division in the state civil service department. The New Jersey legislature appropriated $16,000 for reclassification purposes.

Among the local jurisdictions which have reworked their classification plans during the year are Los Angeles County, California; Milwaukee County, Wisconsin; and Sacramento County, California; the Chicago Park District; the cities of Alameda and Coalinga, California; Madison, Shorewood, and Wauwatosa, Wisconsin; Fargo and Minot, North Dakota; Cleveland, Ohio; Seattle, Washington; and Evanston, Illinois.

*

Civil Service in New Mexico.—According to the *New Mexico Tax Bulletin*, the merit system established in the Unemployment Compensation Commission is the first such system to be set up in the state, with the exception of the employment service, which is operated on such a basis under agreement with the federal government. The first examinations were held in August, and a complete statement of qualifications, regulations for the operation of the system, and a standardized salary schedule have been announced.

Except for the system of examination and training for teachers, the first department to institute examinations was the motor patrol, created in 1933.

In the department of public welfare a system of in-service training has been established for the improvement of the personnel.

*

Government Reorganization Studied in Michigan.—A group of sixty-four of the state's leaders in public activities has been authorized by Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan "to make a study of the means and methods whereby changes may be made in the procedure and structure of the state government that will provide greater efficiency and economy in the conduct of public affairs, improve the quality of the public service, and make the government more responsive to the public needs." It is expected that recommendations will be made to the 1939 legislature, including the designation of a permanent agency to continue the study. Reform of

local government, including county reorganization, may be taken up after state problems. Other items under consideration are new functions, powers and activities of government, reform of the legislature, including the basis of representation and apportionment, and judicial reform, including tenure and selection of judges.

*

National Career Service Organization Proposed.—A special committee of the Career Service Guild of Los Angeles, California, which is made up of governmental interns of Los Angeles County, has proposed the formation of a national organization, consisting of a somewhat loose federation of existing local groups, such as the Los Angeles guild, and organizations of graduates, particularly interns, of schools and institutes training for governmental career service with emphasis on internship. Among potential activities it was mentioned that the organization would help in developing internship programs in governmental units and in placing its members, set up awards for unusual service, sponsor lectures and radio addresses on professional aspects of governmental administration, act as a clearing house for career service activities, and develop standards of training, administration, and ethics.

*

Expanding Federal Merit System a Safeguard for Democracy.—In a message to the Civil Service Assembly on October 17th President Roosevelt stated that he would request adequate funds to extend the federal civil service system, and said: "You who are engaged in the technical development of personnel administration today are building a bulwark of efficiency against a danger constantly confronting all government, particulary democratic government."

*

Public Safety Work at Rutgers University.—A survey is being conducted at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, to determine to what extent the university should take a more active part in the broad field of public safety. The survey will include a study of what other universities are doing and of the existing facilities at Rutgers. Through a bureau in the extension division training is now offered to traffic police and engineers in traffic control.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

Edited by Paul W. Wager

County Boards of Agriculture in Virginia.—Due largely to the stimulus furnished by the Extension Division of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute there has been a significant development taking place in Virginia counties. This has been the organization of county boards of agriculture in eighty-nine counties. Beginning as agricultural advisory boards, these local bodies of representative citizens have developed into what might be considered unofficial county planning boards. On these boards are representatives of every type of agricultural agency and they are concerning themselves with everything that has a bearing on rural life. In editorializing on the development, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* says, "The Extension Division of V. P. I. has done a great deal for education in Virginia, but it has done nothing more important than to bring home to the local communities of the state the need for a continuous interest in planning their future. . . . With 89 per cent of the Virginia counties having local boards of policy makers, it can be said that we are on the way up from rural complacency in this state."

*

County Commissioners of Pennsylvania Adopt Resolutions.—Among the resolutions adopted by the Pennsylvania State Association of County Commissioners at its recent convention, as reported by *Your Dollar's Worth*, were the following:

Enactment of legislation under which the state would pay the costs of discharged cases in which fines, if imposed, would go to the state;

Authority for county commissioners to compromise delinquent taxes where the total of unpaid taxes and penalties is greater than the value of the property;

Opposition to the pending constitutional amendment to establish a ten-mill limit of borrowing for local governments;

Authority for county commissioners to decide the advisability of tax sale adjournments and road construction projects;

Exclusive use of all automobile license fees and gasoline taxes for highway purposes and

a "logical, wisely planned schedule of road construction and improvement . . . based on the result of the recent traffic survey of the state and on the best principles and methods of highway engineering";

Legislation to make the county tax year conform with the fiscal year.

*

Another California County Adopts Zoning Ordinance.—Marin County (lying across the Golden Gate from San Francisco) is the first county in California to adopt a comprehensive zoning ordinance under the new California planning act.

According to a recent announcement of the American Society of Planning Officials, the county planning commission first adopted the general outline of a land use plan for the entire county. This gives consideration to (a) existing uses of land and buildings, (b) tendencies of development, and (c) desirable utilization. The ordinance becomes a means of accomplishing the objectives of this land use plan, and is vastly broader in scope than would be the case if it had been developed as an aggregation of regulations for a series of local communities, based solely on conditions in those communities.

In common with zoning ordinances of some other California counties the ordinance requires that prospective builders in roadside and certain other business districts shall submit plans and sketches of their proposed buildings to the planning commission for review. No building permit may be issued until the plans have been approved. For a distance of ten miles along the Redwood Highway roadside business is permitted only in five small business centers and even here the type of business is limited. No outdoor advertising is permitted anywhere along the highway except on places of business and that is strictly limited in extent.

*

Forty South Carolina Counties Have Library Service.—At the beginning of 1936 only three counties in South Carolina had satisfactory county library systems: today forty of the forty-six counties have a county-wide library service, the American Library Association's *Bulletin* reports. There are thirty-six book trucks on the road. Numerous new reading rooms and book stations established in small communities and schools are serviced by the bookmobiles, which also give a direct service almost amounting to house-to-house routing in sparsely settled counties. The movement received its initial impetus from the WPA, which not only furnished a nucleus of books but subsidized the trucks. Now, however, because of the insistence of rural women and citizens committees, the counties are beginning to provide support from tax sources. It is believed that the activity of these citizens committees, together with the ever expanding demand of new readers, insures the continuance of the service.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Franchise Slighted, Bonds Questioned.—Because it tried to save expense at a special election, a Montgomery County, Ohio, township recently had bonds approved at the election ruled illegal. As a consequence, doubt is cast on the validity of some $3,000,000 of newly voted school bonds in the state.

Mad River Township submitted a $66,000 school bond issue to its voters on September 17th. School officials, acting under a seventy-year-old statute, opened only a part of the voting precincts to save expense. The bonds were approved by the voters, and the school board sought to sell them to the state teachers' retirement system, which as a matter of routine referred the issue to the office of the state attorney-general for legal opinion. Early in October Willard Rivers, assistant attorney-general, ruled that the bonds were illegal, because all the regular polling places were not opened for the special election. The opinion held that under the uniform bond act of 1935, all precincts must be opened at a special election.

School officials withdrew their offer of sale, so that the opinion was not formally published, according to the press. The school district plans to ask a Montgomery County Common Pleas Court to rule on the validity of the bonds. The case will have considerable importance as a court test of the interpretation of the 1935 statute by the attorney-general's office, since the practice of opening only a part of the polling places for a special election is said to be a common one in Ohio. Dr. David Sutton, director of school finances

for the Ohio Department of Education, estimated that validity of $3,000,000 school bonds voted in Ohio in recent weeks is clouded by the interpretation. Bonds voted at the August 9th primary and at the regular elections are not affected, since all polls are opened on those occasions.

*

Dayton Schools Close.—Public schools of Dayton, Ohio, closed Friday, October 28th, rather than operate on a deficiency basis and "encumber the future," while school officials of Parma, a community suburban to Cleveland, announced that its schools would close November 9th.

The closing in Dayton, announced as for a period of at least six weeks, comes as school authorities seek approval at the polls November 8th for a two-mill extra levy for school operations. Nevertheless, the situation serves to dramatize the stringency arising from the state's ten-mill over-all tax rate limit.

Under the ten-mill limit each local unit receives two-thirds of the average amount it had received during the preceding five years, when operating under the fifteen-mill limit. The Dayton school district receives under this arrangement 4.48 mills inside the limit, and levied for 1938 an additional .9 mill for service on bonds voted outside the limit. Dayton is said to be the only large city in Ohio where an extra levy for school operating purposes has not been voted. The 1938 rate of 5.38 included 4.12 for operations, or $1,318,400, out of a total school levy of $1,717,190. Valuations are on a 100 per cent basis, with the total tax rate for all units in Dayton only 15.80 mills.

Dayton's schools were closed in the face of a deficit of but $61,936, but lack of funds in the state school foundation fund which makes grants to the local systems is a more important factor in the closing. This fund has a revenue deficit of about $17,000,000 with rehabilitation a vital issue in state politics. Dayton school authorities hold that even with resumption of state aid, the two-mill levy, which requires 65 per cent of the votes to pass, is necessary to keep the schools open.

The school board is said to have acted for closing after receiving petitions from the various teachers' groups, urging closing if funds were not immediately available. A dissenting member of the board held the action was unnecessary, and on October 29th secured a temporary injunction restraining the closing of classrooms to the city's 34,000 students pending hearing on a motion for a permanent order. This action was later dropped. Meanwhile, school authorities may be considered to be putting on a good show in their campaign for enactment of the two-mill school levy at the election November 8th. (Dayton papers please copy.)

*

New York Constitutional Amendments Affect Local Finances.—New York State's proposed new constitution, to be submitted to the voters November 8th, contains a number of provisions of importance to the local governments of the state. Among the more important provisions affecting local finance are the following:

1. Hereafter local indebtedness may not be contracted for a period longer than the useful life of the improvement to be financed, nor for a period exceeding forty years.

2. Bonds issued hereafter cannot be refunded, and bonds issued heretofore can be refunded for no longer than twenty years and then only upon the approval of the state comptroller.

3. Bonds must be serial, with the first installment payable not more than two years after date of issue.

4. The 10 per cent debt limit of cities is extended to all villages, and reduced one-half of one per cent for cities and one per cent for villages in 1944 and 1949, so that after 1949 cities will have a limit of 9 per cent and villages of 8 per cent. The debt limit is to be based on the average assessed valuation of the succeeding five years, instead of on the last assessment roll. Moreover, exemptions are reduced and clarified.

5. The present 2 per cent tax rate limit, now applicable only to large cities, is extended after January 1, 1944, to all cities and villages. The tax rate limit, like the debt limit, is to be based hereafter on the five-year average of assessed valuations, rather than on the last year's roll. The limit does not include taxes levied to pay principal and interest on indebtedness, nor to school taxes where the school district and the city are not now coterminous. Also, the legislature may exclude school taxes in the other cities of less than 100,000 population.

The above proposals are contained in Arti-

cle VII. In Article III, dealing with the legislature, a prohibition is proposed that the legislature may not require municipally-operated utilities to be run on a service-at-cost basis, but that they may be allowed to earn a "fair return" which may be used for general municipal purposes.

The proposed new article on housing, in addition to providing for state subsidies to cities, towns, villages, and public corporations for the establishment of low rent housing and slum clearance, would permit the legislature to empower the local units to contract debt for housing up to 2 per cent of their five-year average assessed valuation. Such debt would be deductible in computing net debt for purposes of the general debt limit if the housing earnings were sufficient to cover operating costs and debt service, but would have to be payable from taxes other than on real estate—except that if such other taxes levied at the time the debt was contracted were insufficient, levying of ad valorem real estate taxes would not be prohibited.

The proposals in Articles III and VII are incorporated in the first of the nine questions into which the constitutional document was broken for submission to the voters. This is the so-called "catch-all" question, and while the local finance proposals in the main follow accepted lines many other proposals under the question are variously objectionable, and the whole question is regarded as likely to be defeated by many observers. The housing amendment is being submitted separately as question four.

*

Debt Limit Change Proposed for Pennsylvania.—A proposed constitutional amendment was introduced recently in the Pennsylvania legislature seeking to change the base upon which the debt limits of Pennsylvania municipalities are computed. At present the limit is based on the last assessed valuation. The proposal is to base it on the average annual valuation for the last ten years of real estate only. Greater stability and a consequent lessening of the sharp upturn of local borrowing margins in boom times are claimed as advantages resulting from the change. No mention is made of the fact that in the case of economically declining communities, of which Pennsylvania has not a few, property valuations no longer supportable would be unduly projected into the base, since a ten-year average will be weighted with early high valuations in the case of a community of steadily declining valuations just as much as it will be weighted with early low valuations when the trend is upward. Actual debt limits remain unchanged under the proposal, 10 per cent for the city-county of Philadelphia, 7 per cent for all other local units of government, except that all counties are raised from 7 per cent to the 10 per cent accorded Philadelphia. An additional 3 per cent for sewer bonds could be voted, while the method of computing Philadelphia's net debt would be changed—at present utility debt may be deducted only if the enterprise is fully self-supporting, but the proposal would permit deduction to the extent of self-support.

*

November Bond Elections Down.—State and municipal bonds voted on during November, principally at the general election on November 8th, aggregate only $63,000,000 according to the *Daily Bond Buyer*, a total which compares with approximately $200,000,000 submitted at elections during November 1937, and one of the smallest in recent years. This year 165 states and local units will seek to have bond issues authorized at the polls, whereas 264 units submitted bond proposals during November last year.

The abnormally low total of issues to be submitted does not indicate any slackening of municipal borrowing, however. For the first nine months of 1938 bond issues approved by voters aggregated $163,792,000, a figure less than $2,000,000 under the total for the entire year 1937. Moreover, of the $200.000,000 bonds submitted last November, all but about $58,000,000 were turned down by the voters. Thus even though a substantial portion of the bonds to be voted on during November this year are not approved, there is every indication that the total for 1938 will be well above that of 1937. Furthermore, there are many states and local units which may issue bonds. or certain types of bonds, without submitting the issues to the voters, whose offerings go to swell the total of state and municipal borrowing.

At least a partial explanation of the low total to be submitted in November is to be found in the abnormally heavy concentration of local bond elections during the latter part

of September, when units were seeking to assure the PWA that funds would be voted to match federal public works grants. The deadline on PWA applications was October 1st. Another factor is that last year's elections included a sizeable number of extremely large issues—such as New York State's $40,000,000 issue and Pennsylvania's $42,000,000—while the largest single issue this year is $10,000,000, sought by Baltimore. Other large authorizations sought this year include $4,500,000 by Cuyahoga County, Ohio, for roads and bridges; $4,000,000 various purposes for Atlanta, Georgia; $3,500,000 various by Cincinnati; $3,347,000 by Duval County, Florida; $3,000,000 bridge by Cleveland; and $3,000,000 highway by the state of Montana. Authorizations of from $1,000,000 to $2,500,000 are sought by Fulton County, Georgia; Jacksonville Florida; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; New Orleans; Owensboro, Kentucky; and Savannah, Georgia, the latter a refunding issue. From $500,000 to $1,000,000 is sought by Duluth, Minnesota; St. Louis County, Missouri; Hamilton School District, Ohio; Springfield, Ohio; St. Louis, Missouri; Aliquippa, Pennsylvania; and Hamilton County, Ohio.

Relief Load Up.—Obligations of $258,700,000 were incurred from federal, state, and local funds for payments to recipients of public relief in July, according to the September *Bulletin* of the Social Security Board. The figure, representing an increase of 1.2 per cent over June, showed July the fourth successive month during which the total amount incurred exceeded that for March 1936, the peak month of the period January 1933-March 1938.

Of the July total, $149,200,000 represented the earnings of WPA workers, an amount which compared with $36,900,000 for general relief, $42,600,000 for old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind, $19,800,000 for the CCC, $5,700,000 for various federal projects and agencies, $3,200,000 for the NYA works projects, and $1,300,000 for emergency subsistence payments to farmers. The number of households in which one or more types of public relief were received in July is estimated at 6,500,000 and the number of persons in these households at 20,800,000. These figures represent increases over June of 1.6 per cent and 2 per cent respectively.

Of special interest, in view of the various proposals on ballots in several of the states, is the trend of old-age assistance. For July there were about 1,700,000 recipients of old-age assistance in the forty-seven states (Virginia's plan was not yet operative, being approved September 2nd), the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii, to which $32,900,000 in benefits was paid. The average payment per recipient was $19.23, with the range of averages by states from $4.95 to $32.34, Mississippi and California representing the extremes. Obligations incurred for old-age assistance increased over July 1937 in thirty-six of the states, with the increase less than 15 per cent in twelve, but more than 25 per cent in sixteen. Florida, Maine, and South Dakota had increases of more than 200 per cent.

Chicago, which has long been seeking ways and means to finance a comprehensive subway system, and has accumulated nearly $70,000,000 in traction funds for the purpose, was granted $18,000,000 by the PWA on October 13, 1938, for the project. Total cost is estimated at $40,000,000, and the city expects to finance its share of the cost by converting with local banks a part of the tax anticipation warrants with which the traction fund is loaded.

The recently created New Jersey Local Government Commission has just issued a new auditing manual for the use of registered municipal accountants auditing municipal books in the state. An innovation is the requirement that the accountants must make a spot check of municipal tax delinquency covering not less than 10 per cent of the number of taxpayers and amount of unpaid charges.

Oregon's one hundred dollars a month plan, which goes on the November ballot as the "Citizens' Retirement Annuity Bill," an initiative measure, provides for a 2 per cent gross transactions tax to be prorated among those over sixty-five who are not gainfully employed and have been citizens nine years and residents of the state continuously for seven years preceding application. Each payment must be spent in the month in which received, and any recipient who supports any able-bodied

adult, not a pensioner, in idleness will be guilty of a misdemeanor. The scheme largely follows the Townsend plan, and has as a companion piece on the ballot a measure instructing the Oregon legislature to petition Congress to call a constitutional convention to prepare a Townsend plan amendment to the federal constitution.

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In California the electoral warfare over thirty dollars every Thursday ("ham and eggs for California" to its proponents, "scrambled eggs" to its opponents) grows hotter and hotter. Public employees groups, the Parent-Teachers organizations, merchants and trade associations and plain amateurs are attacking the proposal with everything from elementary economics to plain and fancy ridicule. Adherents are circulating—at twenty-five cents per copy—a beautifully printed colored brochure in behalf of the amendment; opponents are circulating brightly colored "scrip" which promises to pay off in wooden nickels.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

All Parties Repudiate Ban on P. R.—Before this issue appears in print the people of New York State will have decided the fate of the constitutional convention's Amendment No. 7, which proposed to prohibit the use of proportional representation for any purpose in the state. As we go to press prospects for the amendment's defeat appear excellent. Not only the Republican party, more than two-thirds of whose delegates sought to repudiate the ban before the constitutional convention adjourned, but the Democratic party also officially refused to support it; and the minor parties, of course, were opposed.

The four recognized parties adopted the following planks in their state conventions:

Republican: "Although the convention expressed through Amendment No. 7 strong disapproval of voting by proportional representation, we feel that regardless of the merits of such system the amendment is contrary to the principles of home rule and we do not urge its support." This was the only one of the nine amendments submitted which the Republican platform did not approve.

Democratic: "While persons differ as to the merits of electing local officers by proportional representation, we believe that determination of the method of election is a matter of local concern. Our party has always taken the lead in extending the principle of home rule. Writing this amendment into the constitution would be a denial of that principle and we do not recommend its adoption."

American Labor: "This amendment seeks to nullify the advance made in government by the adoption of the proportional method of selecting legislators. Nothing more flagrantly political came from the constitutional convention. We strongly and unqualifiedly recommend its rejection."

Socialist: "This amendment would ban the use of proportional representation. For obvious reasons the Socialist party calls upon you to vote No on Amendment No. 7."

Major Candidates Also Oppose

The candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor on both major party tickets and other leading candidates were outspoken in their opposition to the amendment. Governor Lehman's statement to the constitutional convention on the subject was quoted in our issue for September. District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate for governor, said in a special statement on the amendments made public on October 10th:

> Amendment No. 7 is highly objectionable. By a vast plurality, the voters of New York at an election less than two years ago decided to select their local legislators by a system of proportional representation. This amendment is a violation of the basic principles of home rule and of the right of a majority of the citizens of a municipality to make locally binding decisions for themselves. There has been widespread discussion of the merits of proportional representation, but I firmly believe that the people of every community have an inalienable right to experiment with and determine such matters. This proposal should be decisively beaten.

Nearly all newspaper comment was likewise hostile to the amendment and even such vigorous opponents of P. R. as the *New York Daily News* strongly opposed its prohibition by constitutional mandate. In the light of this chorus of repudiation the *Bronx Home News* referred to the amendment as "The Ban That Nobody Owns." Nevertheless,

powerful political groups, both in New York City and upstate, were working quietly for the amendment's adoption and the friends of P. R. and home rule knew they could not afford to rest on their oars.

A State-Wide Home Rule Committee

The State Committee for Home Rule on Proportional Representation, organized to help defeat the amendment, distributed a small leaflet with cartoons by Will B. Johnstone of the *New York World-Telegram* throughout the state and presented to the public an impressive array of representative citizens on its list of officers. Charles C. Burlingham, former president of the New York City Board of Education and of the New York City Bar Association, was its chairman. The vice-chairmen included:

A. A. Berle, Jr., assistant secretary of state of the United States, former city chamberlain of New York City, and professor of law at Columbia University; Judge William F. Bleakley of Yonkers, first vice-president of the constitutional convention; State Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh; George R. Fearon of Syracuse, former minority leader in the state senate and chairman of the committee on legislative powers at the constitutional convention; Dixon Ryan Fox, president of Union College, Schenectady; Frank Gannett of Rochester, president of the Gannett Newspapers; Sidney Hillman of New York, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America;

Thomas Holling, mayor of Buffalo; Charles E. Hughes, Jr., former solicitor general of the United States and member of the New York City Charter Revision Commission; State Senator Philip M. Kleinfeld of Brooklyn, a delegate to the constitutional convention; Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach of New York, former president of the New York State League of Women Voters and former member of state Commissions on Health, Administration of Justice, and Cost of Public Education, and a state Minimum Wage Board; George Z. Medalie of New York, former United States Attorney; Frank C. Moore of Kenmore, secretary of the State Association of Towns and chairman of the committee on villages at the constitutional convention; William Church Osborn of Garrison-on-Hudson, former chairman of the New York Citizens Budget Commission; Lithgow Osborne of Auburn, state conservation commissioner and a delegate to the constitutional convention;

William Jay Schieffelin, chairman of the New York Citizens Union; Samuel Seabury of Easthampton, former judge of the Court of Appeals and counsel for the legislative investigation of New York City government in 1931 and 1932; Justice Charles B. Sears of Buffalo, presiding justice of the fourth judicial department and chairman of the judiciary committee at the constitutional convention; Mrs. F. Louis Slade of New York, former president of the New York State and City Leagues of Women Voters; Henry L. Stimson of New York, former United States secretary of state; and Thomas D. Thacher, former solicitor general of the United States and judge of the United States district court, chairman of the New York City Charter Revision Commission which submitted proportional representation to the voters of New York City when it was adopted in 1936.

The treasurer of the committee was Lincoln Cromwell, for many years a director of the New York Merchants Association. The secretary was George H. Hallett, Jr., Secretary of the New York Citizens Union.

The committee had a speakers' bureau under the supervision of William Exton, Jr., with headquarters at the New York City Club. The bureau was started last year by the Proportional Representation Joint Committee, representing New York civic organizations interested in informing the voters on the subject of "P. R.," and had a large corps of trained speakers.

Distribution of literature throughout the state was supervised by Mrs. Norman S. Goetz, assistant secretary, who was also assistant secretary of the New York City Charter Revision Commission. Headquarters were supplied by the New York Women's City Club.

Local committees to defeat Amendment No. 7 operated in coöperation with the state committee in New York City, Buffalo, Rochester, Schenectady, Yonkers, and New Rochelle.

Other Referenda on P. R.—The outcome of the other election day referenda on P. R. issues will also have to wait for our next number to record. There were no less than

five of these referenda scheduled—in Yonkers and Schenectady, New York, and Cambridge, Northampton, and Quincy, Massachusetts. All of these involved joint adoption of P. R. and the city manager plan except the one in Schenectady, where the manager plan is in force already. The Cambridge campaign has been widely publicized because of the comic war it provoked between the Cambridge city council, hostile to the change, and Harvard University, which supplied some of the plan's active proponents.

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Annual P. R. Meeting—The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, Inc., now operating as a department of the National Municipal League, will be held as usual this year as part of the program of the annual conference on government held by the National Municipal League. The meetings this year will be in Baltimore, at the Lord Baltimore Hotel, Thursday to Saturday, December 1st to 3rd.

Saturday morning's session will be devoted to reports on a phenomenal number of P. R. campaigns conducted during the year—the six mentioned above, the attempt to secure P. R. for the New York legislature, the campaign now in progress in Philadelphia, the passage of optional "Plan E" (the city manager plan and P. R. in combination) by the Massachusetts legislature, and the successful defense of P. R. in Wheeling. A very short business meeting and election of P. R. League trustees will be part of the morning program.

The Saturday luncheon will also be devoted to P. R. Hon. Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council, will speak on P. R. in New York City.

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New York Courts Give Council to Democrats.—On October 18th the New York Court of Appeals, the highest court in the state, held that John Cashmore of Brooklyn, leader of the organization Democrats in the New York City council, had been legally elected vice-chairman of the council for a full two-year term at the council's first meeting last January. The decision upheld the appellate division without opinion.

The P. R. election last fall divided the council evenly, thirteen to thirteen, between the organization Democrats and the forces of Fusion (Republicans, American Labor party, and independents), with President Newbold Morris, a Republican separately elected on the Fusion ticket, holding the balance of power in case of a tie vote. At the first meeting, however, one of the Labor members was absent on a wedding trip to Ireland and the Democratic half of the council, taking advantage of an ambiguity in the wording of the charter, proceeded to effect what they claimed was a permanent organization of the council by a vote of thirteen to twelve. When the absent Labor member returned, the Fusion delegation declared the vice-chairmanship vacant and "elected" James J. Burke, independent Democrat from Queens, in Mr. Cashmore's place, giving him thirteen votes to a smaller number for his nearest rival. The dispute as to whether less than a majority of the council could elect and, if so, whether the council could subsequently change its action, was taken to the courts and a final verdict has just been reached.

The delay over problems of organization and the Democratic organization's control of the committees, also effected at the first meeting, has prevented the Fusion group from carrying through most of its plans for legislative action. Meanwhile most of the council's important decisions have been taken by votes which did not follow the original thirteen to thirteen division, some of the members on each side voting frequently with a majority of the other. Under the circumstances the Fusion forces seem content to allow the Democrats to assume general responsibility for this term's record and Councilman B. Charney Vladeck, who was designated majority leader in January by a document signed by thirteen Fusion councilmen and President Morris, recently resigned his title voluntarily to Councilman Cashmore.

With all these developments, however, the council is a refreshing contrast to the rubber-stamp Board of Aldermen which preceded it, made up of sixty-two organization Democrats and three Republicans. For the first time within recent memory there is no steam roller in operation. Each important issue that comes to the floor is well analyzed in debate and decided by a vote that is not a mere response to party orders. The sessions are broadcast regularly over the city radio station, WNYC, and a recent hint at discontinuance brought a heavy fan mail protest.

The council's chief actual accomplishments are the passage of a special tax program needed to support the city's relief load without borrowing—a program presented by Mayor LaGuardia and slightly modified by council—and enactment of a small occupancy tax on business premises to meet the interest on otherwise self-supporting public housing developments. No measures considered seriously objectionable by civic groups have been passed by the new council.

"The principle of proportional representation is not one whit weakened by what has taken place," said the *New York Times* editorially on October 21st. "Certainly no one would libel the controlling group in the council by comparing them with the old Board of Aldermen."

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"P. R. Made Easy in One Lesson".—The *New York Sun* of September 23rd carried under this heading the following news item:

"Proportional representation lost some of its mystery yesterday morning when seventh and eighth grade pupils at Chelsea School (P. S. 33, Manhattan) attacked it courageously and 'acted it out,' just as they would the story of Cinderella or Little Red Riding Hood. For the third time in this school . . . election of members to the student council was held by this method.

" 'We instituted this as part of the school's activities after proportional representation was adopted for New York City,' Miss Ruth Gillette Hardy, principal of the school, explained.

"Nearly two hundred girls were on hand in the assembly room to vote. Their seven candidates were asked to take positions in prominent places so that they would not be mere names on a scrap of paper or on the blackboard. Efforts were made to have the lesson as concrete as possible. When voting, the students were asked to rally around the candidate of their choice, encircling her until the count was taken. There was no complicated sorting of ballots, as on the occasion when New York selected its council.

"The pupil receiving the smallest number of votes withdrew, and the votes were reapportioned among the remaining candidates, as designated. This was kept up until the desired number of council members, in this case three, were elected. The winners were Mabel Carbasi, Mary Biasi and Rose Routenberg.

" 'Remember, these are your representatives,' Miss Hardy told the group after the election. 'Make your suggestions regarding the school to them, and at least find out afterward what has become of those suggestions.'

"She added that the experience was important in the political education of pupils, serving to give them 'a taste of reality.' "

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A P. R. Week-End School in England.—From Friday evening, September 30th, to Monday morning, October 3rd, a week-end school on P. R. was conducted at the Regal Hotel, Cleveleys, near Blackpool, England. The veteran secretaries of the British P. R. Society, who are looked to for advice and guidance by proportionalists the world over, alternated in conducting the lectures.

Mr. John H. Humphreys, who is pleasantly remembered by a large number of Americans and Canadians who met and heard him on his visit at the time of the first P. R. election in New York City last year, conducted the three evening sessions. He discussed the nineteen years of P. R. in Ireland, P. R. in New York, the breakdown of parliaments in Germany and Italy, twenty years of party list systems of P. R. in the Scandinavian nations and other stable countries of western Europe, the problems of mixed races, the formation of popular and national fronts as a result of defective election methods, the influence of election methods on the making of history, and the prospects of P. R. in Great Britain.

Mr. A. J. Gray, his associate, conducted sessions on Saturday and Sunday morning at which the various majority systems of election were compared, current objections to P. R. were discussed, and every student was given an opportunity after a demonstration to count the votes in a P. R. election.

The afternoons were left free for recreation and informal discussion.

At the close of the school Mr. Humphreys sent the following message on its behalf to American workers for P. R.:

> Although all our minds are full of the international situation, we do not forget the great constructive work for democracy that our colleagues in America are pressing.

At the week-end school which we have just held, unanimously and cordially I was asked to send to our P. R. fellow workers a message expressing our deep appreciation of the fight that they are maintaining and wishing for them an outstanding success on the 8th November next.

CINCINNATI'S REGIONAL DEPARTMENT

(Continued from Page 535)

eral years. Sound development in the future will depend upon careful and thorough-going research into the nature of business changes and occupational opportunities. It is to this end that the department is devoting itself and upon which such progress as it has made rests.

LOBBY-CONTROL LAW

(Continued from Page 544)

need for regulation. Finally, the mere requirement of registration of name and agents together with a more or less meaningless description of purpose scarcely constitutes effective regulation.

HAROLD ZINK

DePauw University

City Manager Reports by "Movie"

For the investment of $104.50, the city of Sewickley, Pennsylvania (population 5,599) has installed equipment for a completely novel system of "monthly reports" by the city manager to the town council.

This sum included $29 for a used 16-mm. movie camera (original cost $89), $57.50 for a slightly used projector, and $18 for a roll screen and tripod. The only additional cost is $4.05 per hundred feet of film, which includes development.

This equipment was bought with the understanding that one or more films would be shown monthly by the city manager. In the first three months he took five hundred feet of film which: (1) gave the council a vivid idea of thirty old houses which were ordered repaired or demolished; (2) presented a zoning problem so cogently that it was disposed of at a single meeting; (3) showed the council exactly how a complicated "underground movement" had occurred in a concrete platform at the garbage disposal plant; (4) demonstrated visually the actual operation of sewage disposal plants in several other towns, thus eliminating the necessity of inspection trips.

In addition to these accomplishments, one reel was devoted to picturing Sewickley's garbage collection and disposal system in operation; another reel was devoted to the waterworks, and a third reel showed construction and repair operations on city streets and sidewalks.

The council is reported well pleased with the experiment, and now plans to make the reels available to schools and civic organizations in a campaign to educate the public in municipal affairs.—*Editorial Research Reports.*

Recent Books Reviewed

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

The Reorganization of State Governments in the United States. By A. E. Buck. New York City, Columbia University Press (for the National Municipal League), 1938. viii, 299 pp. $2.50 clothbound; $1.00 paperbound in quantities of ten or more.

For many years the basic assumptions of the reorganization movement were accepted almost universally and without question. Recently, students of state government have recognized the need for a critical analysis of the results of the operation of the plan after twenty years; such students, who have in the past relied upon Mr. Buck's earlier studies of administrative reorganization, will be indebted to him anew for this comprehensive and up-to-date treatment of the subject. The book is divided into two parts, followed by an extensive bibliography.

Part I contains an excellent resumé of the state reorganization movement in forty pages, emphasizing history, standards, types and results, and with a reference to the relation of the National Municipal League's Model State Constitution to the movement. Part II presents for each of the forty-eight states a summary, condensed into a few pages for each state, of the reorganization plans that have been adopted, and of proposals for reorganization that have been submitted. The maps and charts include a map of the United States showing the states that have adopted reorganization plans and organization charts for Illinois, New York, and Tennessee.

The summaries in Part II will make the volume an invaluable reference work for those who want to know what has happened in a particular state. All important surveys in individual states are cited, the names of governors and legislators connected with each attempt at reorganization are mentioned, with dates in each case, along with the analytical and interpretative comments of the author. These sketches, with their insight into politics and administration, not only make interesting reading but they stand the test of careful scrutiny when one examines in detail the descriptions for those states with which he is most familiar.

An extensive bibliography is divided into two parts, general references and references classified by states, including for each state, surveys, reports, and pertinent articles. This list alone would have been a valuable aid to students of state government.

As the attempt at evaluation of the reorganization movement proceeds and certain defects are pointed out, it may be well to emphasize the difficulties under which it has progressed thus far. In many states the provisions of outmoded constitutions prevent any really effective application of the principles of reorganization. While three states—Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia—have reorganized constitutionally, some twenty-three others have tried to do the best they could by statutory provisions. Under such circumstances one might argue that there are few states, indeed, in which the principles of reorganization have actually been tried. Where there are no constitutional limits to prevent, as there are in New York, a reorganization once adopted is soon impaired by the addition of new agencies, independent and quite without reference to the original plan. There are, of course, conflicts between the practical and theoretical aspects of the whole problem. It is one of the merits of this book that it points out not only what has been done, but what the problems are that lie ahead.

There is no doubt but that effective fiscal control has been aided by the centralization

of responsibility in the hands of the executive, but the fact that budget systems exist in all the states would seem to indicate that reorganization is not indispensable to reasonably effective budgetary control. Reorganization has made possible substantial savings through a more effective expenditure of public funds, but these have usually been absorbed by demands for new services and extensions of existing services. The advancement of the short ballot principle was an important objective of the adoption of the early administrative codes, yet due to the difficulty in eliminating constitutional departments, and the huge number of local officers chosen by popular election, the ballot in most states has actually been reduced in size very little. These very local officers oppose every attempt to secure adequate powers for state agencies when they conflict in any way with a local government tradition developed in an earlier and totally different civilization.

It was assumed that the quality of the performance of the state governments would be raised if the structure of the executive department was improved. In some measure such improvement has resulted, for administration is a very important phase of government, but in governments organized as are those of the states, with three separate branches, something more is required. The gradual comprehension of this fact has led to experimentation with legislative councils and unicameral legislatures, and with judicial councils, in an effort to secure comparable improvements in the other two branches of government.

The solution of these problems is complicated by the difficulty of making practical use of the amending provisions of many of the state constitutions, by the difficulty of getting a convention that will do a really good job of constitutional revision, and by the difficulty of getting the people to approve the recommended revision, if one is offered. The reorganization movement has made a real contribution to state government, and it cannot properly be blamed for the existence of any of these problems. Even so, it is apparent that there is need for a broad-view, long-range, and continuing attack on the whole subject of state governmental organization. To all of those, both in public life and in the academic field, who are interested in the possible solution of these problems, Mr. Buck, whose wide experience and firm belief in the soundness of the reorganization principle are well known, has rendered a signal service in making available such a complete and scholarly compilation of essential information. Even more than in the case of his preceding studies, which this largely supersedes, this study should continue for some time to be the "standard title" on the subject of state administrative reorganization.

W. Brooke Graves
Temple University, Philadelphia

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Police Communication Systems. By V. A. Leonard. Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1938. xvi, 589 pp. $5.00.

To any police officer who has been on the force for more than ten years, there is something rather amusing about the way 1939 recruits accept as a matter of course extensive police communication systems that were unheard of in 1927. There is the radio or teletype system within an individual police department, county-wide and regional networks, state-wide hook-ups installed by the state police, and interstate radio and teletype blockade systems. There is one-way radio, two-way radio, and what is sometimes called three-way radio. There is teletype and, just arriving, radiotype—a typewriter operated by radio.

All of these kinds of police communication are reviewed by Mr. Leonard, who is superintendent of the Bureau of Identification in the Fort Worth police department. He begins by tracing the development of police communication from elementary telegraph on through the police box system, telephone communication, recall devices, teletype, and radio. Extensive consideration is given to the type of telephone equipment needed by the modern police department, the proper methods of equipping the police beat with communication devices, the uses and organization of burglar and hold-up alarms, and to the minimum technical requirements of a police radio system. Special attention is devoted to the selection of communications personnel, to forms for recording criminal information, to foreign communications systems, and to requirements during disasters.

First really systematic treatment of the subject, the book falls far short of the mark

in one all-important respect. It fails to place adequate emphasis on police communication in its relation to police work as a whole, and particularly as the beginning of and the key to the police records system. Upon the proper coördination of the communications and records systems depends the original investigation of a complaint, proper follow-up, and the dependability of annual records. Beginning with the work of the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the absolute necessity of proper coördination has been demonstrated time and again in surveys of police department organization. In Chicago, for example, reorganization of the communications system and its close integration with the records system raised the percentage of offenses reported to the central records bureau from 44 per cent in 1930 to 97 per cent in 1933.

So vital a relationship as this requires major consideration. Furthermore, it raises two related questions—namely, how should the communications division itself be organized, and what is its proper place in the organization structure of the whole department? Strong arguments can be cited for placing the communications unit under the patrol division, but an excellent case can also be made for putting it in the records division. An examination of the practices of American police departments in this matter and of the results would be very helpful to the literature on police communication. Indeed, it is certainly to be hoped that Mr. Leonard's book will stimulate other police communication experts to write about the many aspects of this field in order that the extraordinary progress of the last ten years may continue.

ARNOLD MILES

American Municipal Association

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The Case for Electoral Reform. By S. R. Daniels. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1938. 128 pp. 3/6 net.

This is a very readable little book, finished just before his recent death by S. R. Daniels, former judge of the high court of judicature at Allahabad. It fills admirably the need for a popular up-to-date discussion of proportional representation for the British public and could be owned to advantage also by every careful student of the subject in the United States. Many parts of it are just as quotable here as abroad.

From the American point of view the most valuable part of the work is its masterly demolition of the fable that P. R. was responsible for Hitler in Germany and in general tends to unstable government. After devoting one chapter to the "Alleged Failure of P. R. in Germany," the author takes a birds-eye view of the successful use of proportional systems in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Ireland.

One chapter is devoted to a description of an actual P. R. count for members of the Dail Eireann which the author witnessed in Cork, Ireland, in 1933. The rules used were somewhat more complicated than those for P. R. elections in the United States, yet the description flows along smoothly enough.

The chief emphasis of the book is on the urgent need of P. R. for national elections to strengthen democracy in its hour of trial. The keynote for this approach is sounded by Lord Hugh Cecil in a foreword. There is one chapter, however, on "P. R. in Local Elections," containing brief but adequate reference to the experience of Cleveland and Cincinnati and the adoption of P. R. in New York.

The book is a model of conciseness. Its chapters average only eight small pages each and carry the reader forward so easily that, more likely than not, he will cover its pages in one short sitting.

G. H. H., JR.

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Merit System Advancing. New York City, Municipal Civil Service Commission, 54th annual report for year 1937. 96 pp.

Man bites dog is inside page stuff compared with the implications of the latest report of New York City's Civil Service Commission. The second largest public employer in the United States (only the federal government surpasses) and formerly one of the most notorious, is apparently approaching textbook idealism in its methods of hiring, firing, and keeping well employed the 107,000 who comprise the appointive and competitive members of its civil service. The report is attractively put together, well illustrated with graphic charts and meaningful pictures, and satisfyingly leavened with intelligence and literacy. The claim is that except for low

paid, non-competitive positions the classified personnel of the New York City government is 99.44 per cent non-political. Astounding, if true, and after reading through this highly interesting one-hundred-page report one is ready to give the commission the benefit of the doubt.

M. R.

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Public Relief Administration in Los Angeles County. By George W. Bemis. Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles (Studies in Local Government No. 1), 1938. 109 pp. mimeo.

This study includes an examination of the pattern of governmental organization which has been developed in Los Angeles County to meet the problems of public relief administration.

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Unemployment Assistance in Liverpool. Liverpool, University Press, 1938. 64 pp. 2/6.

A discussion of the coöperation, on Liverpool's unemployment problem, between the Unemployment Assistance Board, the Local Authority, and voluntary associations in that city.

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1937 Yearbook, Park and Recreation Progress. Issued by United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1938. vii, 55 pp. 35 cents.

A report of the progress made throughout the country during the year ended September 30, 1937, in the park and recreation movement, well illustrated with attractive photographs.

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Public Assistance and Relief Bonds in Kansas (with supplement). Topeka, Kansas, Legislative Council, Research Department, Publications Nos. 69 and 74, 17 and 3 pp. respectively, mimeo.

A report prepared by the Kansas Legislative Council to give the legislature a composite picture of the relief bonds which have been issued in Kansas since they were first authorized in March 1933.

Chicago Recreation Survey. (Vol. I, Public Recreation; Vol. II, Commercial Recreation.) By Arthur J. Todd in collaboration with William F. Byron and Howard L. Vierow. Chicago, 1937 and 1938. xiv, 268 pp. and x, 167 pp. respectively. $1.00 each, plus postage. (Apply to Municipal Reference Library, Room 1005 City Hall, Chicago.)

These volumes represent the first two of a series of five covering a comprehensive survey of recreation in Chicago. They are well illustrated with graphic charts and maps. Volume I gives full factual information on the city's various public recreation systems and the museums and libraries; Volume II deals with moving pictures, theatres, the opera, etc., the various commercial sports, excursions, conventions, dancing, etc., and briefly with liquor establishments and commercialized vice. According to this volume, between $700,000,000 and $1,000,000,000 is invested in commercial recreation in the city of Chicago. The average annual per capita expenditure amounts to $80.

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Index of Research Projects. Vol. 1. Washington, D. C., Works Progress Administration, 1938. vi, 291 pp.

The results of some two thousand research projects in the natural and social sciences, which were carried on as part of the federal work relief program, are summarized briefly in this digest and index.

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The G. R. A. Directory, 1938-39. Chicago, Governmental Research Association, 1938. 42 pp. $1.00.

This directory contains lists of agencies in the United States, Canada, and certain other countries which are engaged in governmental research. Six sections comprise the volume—local agencies, state agencies, national agencies, foreign and international agencies, other members of the Governmental Research Association, and an index containing an alphabetical list of all persons listed in the earlier divisions. National organizations are divided according to the subjects in which they are interested.